

South Africa Mine Strike Ends As Blacks Face Job Dismissals

By Glenn Frankel
Washington Post Service

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa's black mine workers' union, tacitly conceding that it lacks the strength to win a labor showdown at the country's gold and coal mines, called off its strike of three mining companies Tuesday.

Leaders of the National Union of Mine Workers characterized the move as a temporary suspension of the two-day walkout while they seek a court order barring the companies from dismissing striking workers. But analysts said that the union appeared to be cutting its losses and was unlikely to resume the strike after the court ruling.

The suspension leaves uncertain the fate of more than 7,000 mine workers who carried out a wildcat walkout to support the legal strike and faced dismissal. The union said it had received assurances from the companies that they would not evict workers from mine property, and the union general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, said he believed that most of the miners would be allowed to resume work.

But the strike suspension appeared to leave management a free hand to dismiss strike leaders and other participants, and it may set back efforts to organize workers at

the three companies where union membership has been lowest. On Monday, the union said that 28,000 workers had heeded its strike call but the number dwindled sharply Tuesday.

A mine official, who declined to

RELATED ARTICLES

■ In a year of unrest, black attitudes have hardened. Page 5.

■ The black miners' leader is fighting strong odds to bring about change. Page 5.

■ The dollar advanced sharply while gold plunged. Page 9.

be identified, said that his company was "encouraged to learn the union has decided to call off the strike."

Manoko Nkomo, a union spokeswoman, denied that the end of the strike was an admission of defeat.

"The mining companies partly broke our strike and partly caught us unaware," she said. "But it's also a victory for us because it has shown the determination of our members in spite of all kinds of intimidation."

The halt may defuse increasingly volatile tensions in several mines

that led to violence and one reported death Tuesday.

Workers at the Deelkraal mine west of Johannesburg said that a miner was struck by a police van and died during a confrontation Tuesday morning in which police private security guards used tear gas, rubber bullets and plastic whips to break up a crowd of strikers.

Helene Mendes, a spokeswoman for Gold Fields, owner of the mine, confirmed that an incident had occurred but said the police acted after some union members attempted to intimidate other workers into joining the walkout. She was unable to confirm or deny the reported death.

Violence also was reported at Transvaal Navigation Collieries, a coal mine. Workers there said that the police had opened fire with tear gas and rubber bullets outside a black hostel on company property.

Deelkraal officials gave notice to 5,000 miners Tuesday that they were being dismissed for failing to report to work for two consecutive days. Workers said that the mine's white hostel manager told them over a loudspeaker that they would be issued back pay on Wednesday and then be required to leave the mine premises.

Officials at three Gencor mines, the Maribale gold mine and Transvaal Navigation and Blinken coal mines, said they had begun "disciplinary hearings" for more than 2,000 workers to determine whether they too should be dismissed.

De Kock Saw Volcker

Gerhard de Kock, head of South Africa's central bank, briefed Paul A. Volcker, chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board, about Pretoria's decision to make only partial debt repayments, Agence France-Presse reported from Washington.

Mr. de Kock met in New York on Tuesday with E. Gerald Corrigan, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, United Press International reported.

■ Bonn Suspends Guarantees

A West German Economics Ministry spokesman said that the government is delaying processing applications for credit guarantees on exports to South Africa following the Pretoria government's decision to freeze foreign loan repayments until the end of the year, Reuters reported from Bonn.

New President Has Peru Feeling Optimistic Again

By Alan Riding
New York Times Service

LIMA — After barely one month in office, Peru's new president, Alan García Pérez, has shaken this country out of a prolonged mood of pessimism with a burst of reformist zeal unseen here in years.

Erasing self-confidence, the 36-year-old president has taken on a vast array of problems that had long appeared insoluble, including inflation, corruption, arms spending, narcotics trafficking, leftist terrorism and a seemingly unpayable \$14-billion foreign debt.

At the same time, using his popularity to strengthen his political hand, Mr. García has restored what he calls the "authority" of government and ended the vacuum of power through which the country had been drifting under the former president, Fernando Belaúnde Terry.

"Who can deny that Alan García has exhibited veritable prowess during his first 30 days in office?" the independent Lima weekly newspaper *Caretas* noted in an article entitled "Decision, Perseverance and Daring." It was echoing a view widely expressed even by those who opposed Mr. García's bid for the presidency.

The only concern voiced so far is that power is enormously centralized in the president, with neither his cabinet nor Congress serving as a counterweight, and that changes might be moving too quickly. "I don't think things are moving fast enough," Mr. García has retorted.

Certainly, such problems as terrorism and the foreign debt defy rapid solution, but in other areas some results already are apparent. A price freeze has slowed the inflation that had been heading for the 200 percent mark by year's end. A crackdown on police corruption has brought the dismissal of 37 police generals. An order of Mirage fighter planes from France has been halved, from 26 to 13, to save money.

Sensing that the young Social Democrat is inspired more by idealism than ideology, the United Left coalition, the country's second political force, and the conservative private sector have applauded



Alan García Pérez

these and other measures. No less significantly, the armed forces, which governed Peru from 1968 to 1980, so far have accepted the reassertion of civilian control.

Yet perhaps the most striking feature of Mr. García's first weeks in office has been his populist style of governing. He has adopted measures that immediately touch the lives of Peruvians, such as reducing the cost of some basic foods and medicines.

Further, almost as if he still were campaigning, he has found a way of engaging in a direct "dialogue" with the people.

On six occasions he has appeared on a balcony of the Presidential Palace, which overlooks a busy street, and, to the concern of security agents always fearful of a terrorist attack, has engaged in a lively give-and-take with the enthusiastic crowds that immediately gathered below.

He also has used the balcony to make announcements with certain popular appeal.

A favorite target has been the privileged life of past senior officials. On Aug. 22, for example, he

Reagan and the Reshaping of Politics

Analysts See a Realignment of U.S. Parties, Electorate

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Service

NEW ORLEANS — Slowly and cautiously, those who teach and study American politics are beginning to say that President Ronald Reagan has ushered in a major change, and perhaps a new era, in U.S. government and politics.

Their term for the changes is "realignment," a whispered word four years ago among a minority of political scientists, and now a subject of open debate and growing consensus.

Most of the major papers on realignment presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association here found strong elements of fundamental change at work in the 1980 and 1984 elections. The changes resembled many of the patterns of the Franklin D. Roosevelt elections of 1932 and 1936. Roosevelt's New Deal coalition stayed in power for 20 years and persists in part even today, many scholars claim.

Republican gains in voter identification, Mr. Reagan's support among young and first-time voters, the emergence of the South and

Mountain West as Republican rather than Democratic bastions and the persistent support for many conservative policies all suggest a shift that may last beyond Mr. Reagan's time, the pro-realignment analysts contend.

They hedge their judgment with many qualifications, and their views are rejected by a minority of skeptics. But within the profession, the tide has clearly changed from the 1981 meeting, when James Stimson of Florida State University expressed the prevailing sentiment: "I'm struck by the lack of evidence of the realignment everyone talks about on the news. There just seems to be nothing out there."

This year, more than a dozen papers explored the evidence in the National Election Studies of the University of Michigan and newspaper polls.

The skeptics included Walter Dean Burnham of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Martin F. Wattenberg of the University of California at Irvine, who argued that voters' party loyalties have become so weak, in an era of personality and television politics,

that the reported Republican gains may not mean much.

Mr. Burnham said he felt the only way that a stable Republican ascendancy could be sustained would be "if the policy counterrevolution of 1981 and later was associated with our climbing back toward the world hegemony, especially economic hegemony, which we once took as a matter of course." On that count, he argued, the evidence is "all the other way."

Mr. Wattenberg termed it "the hollow realignment," arguing that "even if the Republican surge is a long-lasting one, it will be of limited importance as long as partisanship in the electorate continues to decline."

But other scholars are impressed by the shifts they see in key voting blocs, which they say add up to a pattern of politics fundamentally different from the New Deal era.

Three University of Rochester writers, Harold W. Stanley, William T. Bianco and Richard G. Niemi, cited evidence that such shifts have been under way since the 1964-68 period, linking them to

difficulty with the columnist's name, the point that he sought to make, which was underscored throughout the interview, accentuated the positive.

In response to a question about his view of Mr. Reagan, Mr. Gorbachev turned immediately to the forthcoming summit meeting and said that the Soviet Union had agreed to the Geneva

meeting "because we thought we could do a lot by trying to meet each other halfway."

He continued: "That, again, is why we have reacted so sharply to some of the statements being made these days in connection with the summit."

"So we see that there are some who want to generate a situation to persuade the U.S. and the American public that, as Mary McGroarty put it, even if the only thing to come out of the summit was an agreement to exchange ballet troupes, then even so, people would be gleeful and happy."

Georgi Arbatov, 62, the head of the U.S.A.-

NEWS ANALYSIS

Canada Institute in Moscow since 1967, flanked Mr. Gorbachev during the interview. Leonid Zamyatin, 63, chief of the Information Department, also was at the table, along with his assistant.

Andrei Alexandrov-Agentov sat in. He is a Kremlin foreign policy adviser dating back to the days of Leonid I. Brezhnev. Viktor Sukhodrev, a Kremlin aide since the time of Nikita S. Khrushchev, translated consecutively for Mr. Gorbachev, who showed no hint of a knowledge of English, according to a source present.

Mr. Gorbachev was witty, telling one Time editor, when handing him a green envelope holding answers to six written questions: "Not even a hint of export of revolution."

He was anecdotal when comparing a former Soviet finance minister's knee-jerk reactions to those he said were shown by the Reagan administration. The Soviet official, said Mr. Gorbachev, was an old man who dozed off during meetings of the Council of Ministers.

"Whenever you would wake him, he would

U.S. Promises 'Serious' Effort In Geneva Talks

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Responding to criticism from Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, of superpower tensions before the November summit meeting, a White House spokesman said Tuesday that President Ronald Reagan "is taking a serious approach" and pledged that Mr. Reagan would try to "meet the Soviets halfway in an effort to solve problems."

In Moscow, Senator Robert C. Byrd, Democrat of West Virginia, who headed a U.S. Senate delegation that met with the Soviet leader, said that he felt "a little more optimistic" about the U.S.-Soviet summit meeting in Geneva.

The White House spokesman, Larry Speakes, read a statement, in response to an interview with Mr. Gorbachev in Time magazine, that criticized the Russians for using the U.S. media while refusing Mr. Reagan access to the Soviet media. Mr. Speakes charged that the Russians had ignored a U.S. request for Mr.

Reagan to speak on Soviet television.

He also said that the United States was prepared to discuss limits on space weapons but reiterated that Mr. Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative was not a "bargaining chip" that could be traded in arms negotiations.

In the time interview, Mr. Gorbachev said that the Reagan administration appeared to be planning on a summit confrontation between "some kind of political 'supergladiators'" aimed at winning points instead of reaching agreements.

Mr. Gorbachev said that the Russians "shall be prepared to submit some very serious proposals" in the Geneva meeting.

Mr. Speakes said that the United States welcomed Mr. Gorbachev's promise to present serious proposals. "For the United States, the president is taking a serious approach in the relationship and he is willing to meet the Soviets halfway, in an effort to solve problems."

"The president hopes that the groundwork in Geneva will lay the ground for addressing the issues that face our two nations," Mr. Speakes said. "Our views of the causes of present U.S.-Soviet tensions are quite different from that presented by Mr. Gorbachev."

This was a reference to Mr. Gorbachev's statement in the interview that Washington was responsible for the deteriorating superpower relationship.

In criticizing Mr. Gorbachev for using media channels that he said were blocked to Mr. Reagan in the Soviet Union, Mr. Speakes said: "We are pleased that Mr. Gorbachev was able to present his views to the American public. The interview is a prime example of the openness of the American system and the access the Soviets enjoy to the American media."

"If President Reagan had a comparable opportunity to present his views to the Soviet people, through the Soviet media, this would doubtless improve our dialogue and indicate Soviet willingness to accept a degree of reciprocity in an impor-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

Kasparov Strikes Swiftly In World Chess Match

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

MOSCOW — The rematch for the world chess championship began Tuesday with Gary Kasparov, the challenger, quickly fulfilling predictions that he would take the initiative against the champion, Anatoli Karpov.

Mr. Kasparov, playing white, opened with the advance of his queen's pawn two squares. But on move three he allowed a Nimzo-Indian defense, an opening that did not occur in any of the 48 games that the two Soviet grandmasters played in their first title match, which was abandoned in February.

Mr. Karpov appeared to become uncomfortable and apprehensive as he was confronted with a rarely played variation and soon fell far behind on the clock.

After making his 12th move, Mr. Kasparov, now nearly an hour ahead, strolled quietly around the stage looking relaxed and confident.

The game was adjourned when the challenger sealed his 42d move. He was one pawn ahead and, according to experts watching, held a winning position if he continued to

play well when the match is resumed Wednesday.

Each player has two and a half hours to make his first 40 moves. Failure to meet this deadline would result in a loss.

Both arrived for the match's start with just a few minutes to spare, despite traffic having been cordoned off to allow them easy access to the Tchaikovsky Concert Hall.

Mr. Kasparov appeared first, with two of his top aides, followed by a second car bearing his mother, Klara. She has been a source of moral support and has attended all her son's important matches.

Mr. Kasparov strode onto the stage confidently, receiving an ovation that rivaled that of the champion. From all indications, it was not a partisan Kasparov crowd, as the challenger and many of his supporters had feared.

(Reuters, AP)



Anatoli Karpov

'Doctor Behind the Microphone': An Israeli Voice Heard in the Arab World

By Thomas L. Friedman
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — Dani Basri is not a household name in Israel. In fact, few Israelis have heard of her.

But Mrs. Basri, 54, has become one of the most widely listened-to Israeli voices in the Arab world. She probably gets more mail from such places as Saudi Arabia and Syria than anyone else in Israel.

Since 1977 Mrs. Basri has had a program on the Israeli radio's Arabic service called "Doctor Behind the Microphone," and it has become a vehicle for Arab-Israeli cooperation.

Twice a week Mrs. Basri, an Iraqi Jew who came to Israel in 1950, interviews Jewish and Arab doctors in Israel about the latest advances in treatments and medical technology in Israeli hospitals. After the interviews, Mrs. Basri invites her listeners throughout the Arab world to write to her — at a post office box in Geneva or by any other route — with their medical problems.

Each month, 300 letters from Arab listeners find their way to Mrs. Basri's office. She translates them into Hebrew and refers them to specialists at Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem or other Israeli medical centers.

The specialists answer the medical queries with whatever limited advice is possible, which Mrs. Basri translates into Arabic and broadcasts on her 30-minute program. Sometimes they ask a listener to send more medical records in order to better diagnose the problem.

Those who send their records, and are determined by an Israeli specialist to be treatable, are invited by Mrs. Basri on the air to come to Israel, at their own expense.

Mrs. Basri personally arranges all visas through the Inter-

ior Ministry and accompanies everyone who comes to the hospital. Every year dozens of Arabs, including Kuwaitis, Qataris, Saudi Arabians, Libyans and Syrians, are getting treatment in Israeli hospitals as a result of her program.

"Diseases don't know any boundaries," Mrs. Basri said, "and I don't feel that treatments should either."

Her efforts have won praise from Israeli doctors. "She is doing a remarkable job in improving relations between us and the Arabs," said Dr. Yacov Shimon of Bikur Holim Hospital in Jerusalem, who has treated scores of Arab patients referred by Mrs. Basri.

"There is a new generation of very good young doctors in the Arab world, but not everyone has access to them," he said. "The cases that are coming to us are usually the most difficult ones from both a diagnostic and a therapeutic point of view."

Because of the problems involved for a Kuwaiti or a Syrian in traveling to Israel, a country with which their governments are technically at war, Mrs. Basri is discreet in her responses. Most listeners do not sign their letters to her by name but use their initials or a code name related to their illness.

On the air, Mrs. Basri may reply: "To the bird without wings in Kuwait, the doctor says he thinks he can treat you here. Please send me your passport details." Or: "To A.B. in Saudi Arabia, your visa has been approved by the Interior Ministry. You can pick it up at the Alimbiy Bridge on the Jordan River between Aug. 15 and Sept. 1. The visa is good for one month. Call me on arrival in Jerusalem, and I will take you to the doctor."

Israel's Arabic service reaches listeners from Morocco to Iraq. It is an open secret that it is timed in at coffeehouses and in taxis in every Arab capital, and Presidents Hafiz al-

Assad of Syria and Amin Gemayel of Lebanon are said to be regular listeners.

Every morning Mrs. Basri opens envelopes sent through Geneva or some other European capital or delivered by Arabs who have crossed the bridge from Jordan to the West Bank. There is no mail service between Israel and any Arab country except Egypt.

The letters often are desperate tales of disease, most of them eye, skin and fertility problems. Many writers send electrocardiograms, blood test results, dental charts and X-rays.

A typical letter came recently from a 48-year-old Syrian woman. The letter, mailed in London, begins: "Dear Doctor Behind the Microphone: Salaam, and good health to you. I am paralyzed in my legs. I have been getting physical therapy, but I still have very bad pains. I heard you speaking about achievements in rehabilitation in Israel, and I want to know if I can be treated in your hospital. Please bring my letter to a doctor in Israel. I am ready to come."

Each year, according to Foreign Ministry sources, hundreds of Arabs go to Israeli embassies in Europe and ask for visas to fly to Israel for treatment.

Mrs. Basri got the idea for the program 14 years ago while lying in a heart-care unit in an Israeli hospital and noticing how much of the medical equipment was marked "Made in Israel." At the time, she was a secretary at the Arabic service. She eventually convinced officials of the potential for such a radio program, and the files in her office bulging with handwritten Arabic letters are testimony to her intuition.

"But even I never thought the program would end up being such a live bridge that Arabs would use to cross into Israel," she said.



Dani Basri with piles of letters from Arab listeners.

INSIDE

■ West Germany's opposition demanded the dismissal of Interior Minister Zimmermann over the latest spy scandal. Page 2.

■ U.S. organic farmers have escaped some of agriculture's economic hardships. Page 3.

■ Tamil separatists killed seven policemen and two Tamil politicians in new violence in Sri Lanka. Page 5.

BUSINESS/FINANCE

■ West German industrial output rose a provisional 1.8 percent in July from June, the government reported. Page 9.

■ Hanson Trust PLC raised its bid for SCM Corp. to \$907 million. Page 9.

Because of technical problems at a printing site, the Insights page will appear this week in Thursday's newspaper instead of Wednesday's.

Fierce Fighting Is Reported On Afghan-Pakistan Border

By James Rupert
Washington Post Service

PESHAWAR, Pakistan — Soviet-led forces and Afghan Mujahidin guerrillas are fighting increasingly fierce battles in eastern Afghanistan for control of important rebel supply routes from neighboring Pakistan.

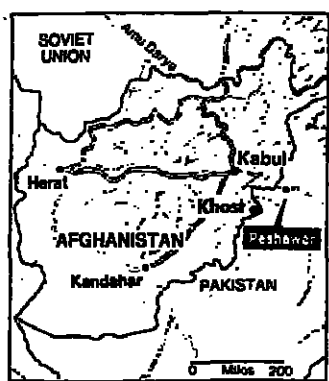
Afghan resistance leaders based here and independent Western observers said over the weekend that fighting in Paktia and Nangarhar provinces, which border Pakistan, has intensified and moved closer to Pakistan during the last two weeks. Also, the number of wounded Mujahidin being admitted to the Red Cross hospital here — an indicator of the degree of fighting along the border — is at its highest levels.

Mujahidin leaders and Western diplomats said incursions by Afghan and Soviet forces into Pakistan normally increase just before each round of UN-sponsored talks on the Afghan problem, such as those held last week in Geneva.

"Moscow and Kabul seem to use these incursions as a tactic to pressure Pakistan toward making concessions" in the talks, a Western diplomat in Islamabad said last week.

Three Mujahidin groups cited reports from their commanders in the four eastern Afghan provinces as saying that a type of Soviet helicopter heretofore unseen in the war has been deployed in the last 20 days. Mujahidin spokesmen said the helicopters are smaller and faster than the Mi-24 assault helicopters that have been the mainstay of Soviet air operations in Afghanistan.

"These helicopters are armed with guns and rockets and come in very quickly, firing on our dhushakas," or heavy machine guns, Isak Gailani said. "They also have a hook or claw which they lower down on the abandoned guns and



or, district, that forms the "parrot's beak."

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pull them up out of their emplacement."

Spokesmen for the Yunus Khalis faction and the Jamiat-i Islami group said that they, too, had received reports that the new helicopters had taken Mujahidin guns from their positions.

"Our dhushakas cannot harm them," said a Jamiat-i Islami spokesman, Rasul Tarshy.

"Our commander in Logar province," south of Kabul, "sent a report saying they could only shoot one down with a grenade when it came low to take a dhushaka," Mr. Tarshy said. "After it crashed, they found many other dhushakas, which the helicopter had taken, in the wreckage."

The intensity and proximity of the fighting has dramatically increased the flow of injured to the hospital operated in Peshawar by the International Committee of the Red Cross. The 100-bed hospital had 160 inpatients over the weekend, and the staff hastily erected tents on adjacent land to shelter the wounded.

Michel Mordasini, the Swiss director of the hospital, said more tents and an extra surgical team was being flown in to treat the injured.

"The last months have been very busy for us, with about 200 admissions each month — six or seven per day," he said Saturday. "But yesterday we had 15 admissions, and we've had nine by noon today."

Our surgical teams are working 12 to 15 hours each day.

Most of the wounded were young men in their teens or 20s, many of them amputees. They lay bandaged and splinted, almost every one with a worried relative keeping watch by the bed.



Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Chancellor Helmut Kohl, from left, during parliamentary debate in Bonn on Tuesday.

Parliament Backs Kohl in Spy Case

Reuters

BONN — West Germany's opposition parties failed Tuesday in an effort to remove Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann. The decision came after a stormy parliamentary debate on the country's spy scandal. Chancellor Helmut Kohl had rejected the demand for Mr. Zimmermann's removal.

The resolution submitted by the Social Democrats was defeated 275-214, and a separate move against Mr. Zimmermann by the opposition Greens was turned back 277-33.

The Social Democrats challenged Mr. Zimmermann's assertion that he had not known in advance of the central element of the affair, the defection to East Germany of a top counterintelligence agent.

"It would be an impertinence to the German public and to this parliament to leave Mr. Zimmermann in office," the Social Democratic leader, Hans-Jochen Vogel, declared.

Repeatedly interrupted by heckling, Chancellor Kohl replied that Mr. Zimmermann did not bear any political responsibility for the defection of the counterintelligence agent, Hans-Jochen Vogel, declared.

Mr. Kohl said that if he were to react to the defection by removing a minister it would effectively play into the hands of the East German spy service to which Mr. Tiedge has crossed over.

The Free Democrats, joined him in supporting Mr. Zimmermann. Mr. Zimmermann said that the counterintelligence agency had never informed him about Mr. Tiedge's problems with alcohol and debts.

Mr. Tiedge, who was in charge of operations against East German espionage in the counterintelligence service, defected to East Berlin two weeks ago and later fled to Bonn saying that he had fled because of his "hopeless" personal situation.

In Düsseldorf, 39, a member of the Soviet trade mission to West Germany, went on trial accused of industrial espionage for the KGB, the Soviet secret police and intelligence agency. He has no diplomatic immunity.

WORLD BRIEFS

Paper Says Kulikov Still Heads Pact

MOSCOW (Reuters) — A newspaper from Soviet Armenia has confirmed that Marshal Viktor Kulikov still heads the Warsaw Pact forces and has not been replaced by Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, the former chief of staff.

Saturday's edition of the republic's Russian-language daily Kommunist, which reached Moscow on Monday, said that Marshal Kulikov visited the Soviet Armenian capital of Yerevan last week to address people in the parliamentary constituency that he represents.

According to persistent rumors in July, neither confirmed nor denied by Soviet officials, Marshal Ogarkov, 67, had taken over from Marshal Kulikov, 64, as head of the East-bloc military alliance.

Engineers' Union Condemned in U.K.

BLACKPOOL, England (AP) — Britain's Trades Union Congress, in two key votes Tuesday, staunchly backed the miners in their year-long strike and condemned the engineers for alleged collaboration with limiting union activities.

The votes came as a victory for hard-liners at the annual conference of the congress, which includes almost 100 unions. The Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers is Britain's second-largest union. The resolution backing the miners called on any future Labour government to halt mine closures, wording opposed by both Norman Wainwright, who heads the Trades Union Congress, and Neil Kinnock, the Labour Party leader. Mr. Willis said the wording could only be an electoral liability for Labour.

Car-Bomber Attacks Christian Militia

BEIRUT (AP) — A suicide-bomber exploded his car at a Christian militia base in the Israeli security zone in southern Lebanon on Tuesday. A pro-Syrian Muslim faction, the Ba'ath Party Organization, claimed responsibility for the attack.

Military sources in southern Lebanon and Beirut's Christian radio stations said that only the car's driver was killed by the explosion near a South Lebanon Army checkpoint at Kfar Hame, 15 miles (24 kilometers) north of the Israeli border.

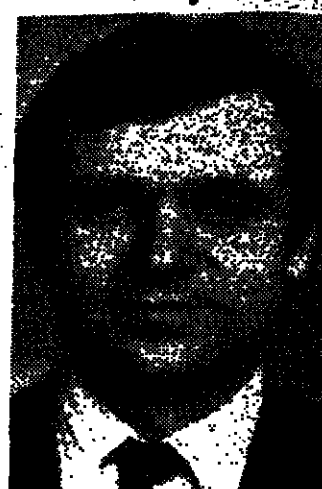
But the state-run Beirut Radio and another Muslim-controlled station, Voice of the Nation, said that many militiamen were killed or wounded. Neither station gave a specific toll.

Tories Name Novelist to Party Post

LONDON (Reuters) — Jeffrey Archer, a millionaire novelist, was named deputy chairman of Britain's ruling Conservative Party on Tuesday in a bid to enliven its image.

Mr. Archer, 45, is a former member of Parliament and has worked in public relations. Norman Tebbit, the former secretary of trade and industry who was appointed party chairman in Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's cabinet reshuffle on Monday, said that Mr. Archer would "bring a touch of dash and style to the party."

Mr. Archer left Parliament in 1974 under a cloud of impending bankruptcy after investing in a company that later collapsed. He turned to writing novels to pay off his debts. The latest, "First Among Equals," tells of ambition and intrigue in the House of Commons.



Jeffrey Archer

Sihanouk Doubts Pol Pot Retirement

BEIJING (NYT) — The reported retirement of Pol Pot as commander of the Khmer Rouge has been greeted with skepticism by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, head of the political alliance formed by the Khmer Rouge and two other Cambodian guerrilla groups.

In an interview with the Milan newspaper Corriere della Sera, Prince Sihanouk said that as head of the alliance fighting the Vietnam-backed government of Cambodia he was "obliged" to believe the announcement. But as an individual with experience dealing with the Khmer Rouge, he said, he regarded it as a ruse.

The former Cambodian ruler, who makes his home for part of the year in Beijing, has made no secret of his loathing for Mr. Pol Pot, head of the regime whose reign of terror from 1975 to 1979 killed hundreds of thousands of Cambodians. He has said that he holds Mr. Pol Pot personally responsible for the deaths of five of his children and 14 grandchildren who disappeared.

U.S. Gulf Coast Assesses Storm's Toll

BILOXI, Mississippi (AP) — Police and National Guard troops patrolled areas of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico on Tuesday as the authorities and residents began adding up the damage left by the hurricane designated Elena. Torrential rains and winds of more than 100 miles (160 kilometers) per hour splintered trees and destroyed homes.

Mississippi's governor, Bill Allain, said Tuesday as he began a tour of storm-damaged areas: "Damage to property is devastating all along the coast, especially some of the areas like Pascagoula, Gulfport and Biloxi. Downtown the business areas are wiped out."

The storm struck the coast Monday after five days of zigzagging through the gulf. The storm forced more than a million people from their homes in Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. Three deaths in Florida were blamed on the hurricane.

For the Record

The Revolutionary Cells, a West German leftist group, claimed responsibility Tuesday for bomb attacks Monday against computer companies in Dortmund and Hamburg, police said. The group said computers were "instruments of suppression used by the military and police." (AP)

The first non-American recipient of an artificial heart, Leif Stenberg, was hospitalized Tuesday in Stockholm after suffering a stroke. He received his heart in April. (AP)

The space shuttle Discovery returned to Earth at Edwards Air Force Base in California Tuesday after a mission during which it launched three satellites and repaired a disabled communications satellite. (AP)

Richard M. Nixon, the former U.S. president, arrived in Beijing on Tuesday for talks with the country's leaders and a tour of four cities. He is expected to meet China's leader, Deng Xiaoping, before leaving for a tour of Xian, Xi'an, a special economic zone and Guangdong. (AP)

French soldiers have given up a search for members of a raft expedition that was lost on the Zaire River last month, French diplomatic sources said Tuesday in Kinshasa. The mainly French expedition was trying to sail 2,500 miles (4,000 kilometers) from Lake Tanganyika to the mouth of the Zaire, also known as the Congo River. (Reuters)

Samora Machel, president of Mozambique, will make an official visit to the United States from Sept. 19 to 24, Mozambique's national news agency reported Tuesday. (Reuters)

The Reshaping of U.S. Politics

(Continued from Page 1) the race issue and invades the Republican made in Dixie through the "southern strategy."

But they cautioned that "if the New Deal coalition is not alive and well, at least its corpse has yet to disappear."

Herbert F. Weisberg of Ohio State University said it would take one more election, with someone other than Mr. Reagan at the top of the Republican ticket, to be sure. But he said he was struck by the "increased polarization between the parties" and their support groups in the electorate.

Helmut Norpoth of the State University of New York at Stony Brook agreed, arguing that Republican support among younger voters represented "the new generation gap in party identification" that set the stage for a party realignment.

Two leading election analysts, J. Merrill Shanks of the University of California at Berkeley and Warren E. Miller of Arizona State University, noted a shift of conservative Democrats into the Republican Party and argued that it was not just among young people that Mr. Reagan scored gains.

"We are persuaded," they said, "that the 1984 election produced substantial and potentially crucial changes in the distribution of party identification within the American electorate."

The boldest prediction came from Martin Shefter and Benjamin Ginsberg of Cornell University. They examined changes in government policies and parties and said that Mr. Reagan had built the base for long-term Republican gains.

"Uncertain as they may be," they concluded, "the prospects for an enduring realignment in American politics are stronger today than they have been for at least a generation."

Libyan Mutiny Reported To Stop Tunisia Invasion

By Christopher Dickey
Washington Post Service

CAIRO — The Egyptian press has published assertions that a planned Libyan invasion of Tunisia was aborted by a last-minute mutiny of Moammar Qadhafi's officers.

Western journalists in Tripoli were unable to confirm any details of the allegations made Monday in Cairo's semi-official daily newspaper al-Ahram. Al-Ahram gave no indication of the sources of the allegations.

But independently the Tunisian government lodged an "energetic protest" with Libya for repeated violations of Tunisian airspace by combat aircraft.

The al-Ahram report said that a serious mutiny took place among Colonel Qadhafi's air and land forces at dawn Saturday. It named the leaders as Colonel Mohammed el-Barghathi, commander of the El Wabia air base near the Tunisian border, and Colonel Khalifa Khidir.

The officers were said to have rebelled, even attempting to bomb Colonel Qadhafi's residence, rather than prepare to invade Tunisia as ordered. A total of 43 officers were said to have been arrested.

While Egypt is reputed to have an extensive intelligence network in Libya, there was no independent confirmation of any aspect of the report. Egypt's desire to discredit Colonel Qadhafi, however, is no secret.

The United States was concerned enough about Libyan troop movements last week to issue a strong statement reiterating its support for Tunisia's security.

The tensions are real, even if the rhetoric surrounding them is exaggerated.

The root of the problem, however, is not so much a Libyan plan to send troops against its neighbors as it is Colonel Qadhafi's insistence on sending Tunisian and Egyptian workers home.

Although Colonel Qadhafi was seen as a dangerous troublemaker by many governments in the region, his rich and underpopulated country of 3 million people has provided jobs, until recently, for hundreds of thousands of foreign workers whose countries sorely needed the cash that the workers sent home.

But as Libya's economy has been strangled by dropping oil prices, the workers have left by the tens of thousands. Sometimes they have been expelled forcibly, but more often they simply have gone home when their contracts were not renewed or their wages evaporated.

A year ago, 150,000 of an estimated 800,000 foreign workers in Libya were reported to have left. Last month, an estimated 25,000 Tunisian workers were pushed out of Libya.

Intermediaries from Morocco and Kuwait have been trying to work a settlement.

Mubarak Issues Warning
In Cairo, President Hosni Mubarak said Tuesday that Libya

would pay dearly for its expulsion of Egyptian, Tunisian and other foreign workers and warned against any Libyan military action against Tunisia.

"I pray to God that Libya does not think of starting any combat action against Tunisia," Mr. Mubarak said. "It will be the gravest mistake Qadhafi ever committed."

2 Israeli Soldiers Stabbed on West Bank; One Dies

Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — Two Israeli soldiers were stabbed, one fatally, Tuesday in the West Bank city of Hebron while guarding a house that has become the focus of a drive by Jewish settlers to move into exclusively Arab neighborhoods.

Hebron was declared a "closed military area" and the central Arab marketplace was placed under strict curfew as Jewish settlers forced their way into the narrow alleys of the area, seeking retaliation. However, army sources at the scene said there was no rioting.

The army command said the two soldiers, both reservists, were stabbed while on guard duty adjacent to a house from which seven rightist members of the Knesset were evicted on Aug. 20. The rightists had occupied the house for four days to press their demand for government-sponsored Jewish settlement in the center of Hebron.

Troops positioned on the roofs of the row of attached houses opened fire into the alley, wounding two Arabs, military sources said.

Grenades Hurt 19 At Greek Resort

United Press International

ATHENS — Two hand grenades were thrown Tuesday onto the grounds of a hotel in a seaside suburb, wounding 19 British tourists, seven seriously, authorities said.

An hour after the blast, a woman called an Athens newspaper and warned that the Palestinian group Black September would "set Athens on fire with bombs" if "our man is not set free," ANA, the official news agency, reported. Police said they believed the caller was referring to an armed Palestinian who was arrested Saturday in an Athens suburb. Authorities said they suspected that he was on a mission to kill the Jordanian ambassador.

In Tuesday's attack, a man threw two grenades, one wrapped in a towel, into the swimming pool area and garden of the Giyfyda Hotel, which is near a U.S. air base at Hellinikon. In February, a bomb explosion in a Giyfyda bar injured more than 70 people, most of them Americans.

U.S. Replies To Moscow's Criticism

(Continued from Page 1)

tant aspect of improving our relations."

■ Prospects for Geneva
Mr. Gorbachev is ready for "radical" offers to cut strategic weapons and may concede that some basic research on space weapons is permitted under existing agreements.

U.S. senators who met the Soviet leader said Tuesday, The Associated Press reported from Moscow. Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, said that Mr. Gorbachev made very clear that fundamental space weapons research cannot be verified.

This implied, Senator Nunn said, that Mr. Gorbachev believes basic research cannot be excluded under the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

Senator Byrd said that Mr. Gorbachev's statements hinted at a positive approach to the Geneva meeting.

The Senate minority leader quoted Mr. Gorbachev as saying that "if the U.S. were prepared to discuss the question of preventing the militarization of space, then they will hear from the Soviet side the most radical proposals on strategic arms and intermediate-range weapons."

Gorbachev Interview

(Continued from Page 1)

always say, "No money, there's no money," Mr. Gorbachev said.

He showed sales technique by dominating the first half of the interview with a monologue. But he waded no time with small talk and, in a typical Russian style, cut deeply on a variety of issues, including the Reagan administration's Strategic Defense Initiative, invigorating the economy and arms control.

Despite Mr. Gorbachev's success in updating the Western public's image of a Soviet leader, whether he can match Mr. Reagan as a "great communicator" is open to question.

Many observers in Moscow wonder whether the same man who gleams in translation in the pages of Time will transmit as well in television. More important, Mr. Gorbachev has said himself well but has yet to deliver on his policies.

Mr. Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union stands ready to make concrete proposals at the summit meeting, but as yet he has not given a hint of those proposals. Some of the policies Mr. Gorbachev has preached, such as proposed reforms for the Soviet economy, have not shown originality.

But the West has put a premium on the style and projection of its leaders, and Mr. Gorbachev is meeting it, eyeball to eyeball.

Iran Denies Air Transit To Spain Leader's Plane

United Press International

MADRID — A Spanish Air Force DC-8 carrying Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez was forced to land in Ankara on Tuesday after it was refused permission to enter Iranian airspace en route to China, a government statement said.

It said the party was awaiting clearance for another route to China. Mr. Gonzalez is undertaking a 10-day trip to China and Japan.



Wilfried Martens, Belgium's prime minister, on Tuesday.

King Dissolves Assembly In Belgium After Dispute

Reuters

BRUSSELS — King Baudouin of Belgium has granted a government request for the immediate dissolution of parliament.

A dispute over education policy on Monday split the ruling four-party coalition, whose mandate runs until national elections on Oct. 13.

The atmosphere among the partners in Prime Minister Wilfried Martens's center-right team was described by party officials as very bad.

Resentment is directed mainly against the small French-speaking Socialist Party, with 18 of the 212 parliamentary seats. Party members vetoed a government plan to empower the next administration to hand over education policy to the Flemish-speaking region of Flanders and the French-speaking region of Wallonia.

Education is currently a national responsibility. The two Flemish parties in the government have been pushing for the transfer on the

ground that their more populous region suffers from the present division of funds.

The social affairs minister, Jean-Luc Dehaene, a leading figure in Mr. Martens's Flemish Socialist Christian Party, said that the French-speaking party bore heavy responsibility for creating what he called a dangerous institutional situation.

But Interior Minister Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb of the Social Christian Party rejected the criticism, saying that the education plans offered none of the safeguards demanded by his party as a condition for permitting such reforms.

Guy Spitaels, president of the French-speaking opposition Socialist Party, described the outcome of the dispute as "a pitiful debacle."

"A government that thought it was going to stay in office for ever has now been K.O.," he said, referring to the government crisis over the Heysel stadium soccer riot that resulted in 39 deaths in May.

But as Libya's economy has been strangled by dropping oil prices, the workers have left by the tens of thousands. Sometimes they have been expelled forcibly, but more often they simply have gone home when their contracts were not renewed or their wages evaporated.

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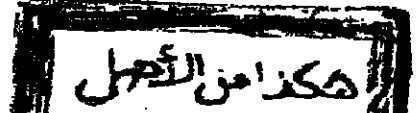
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Iran Denies Air Transit To Spain Leader's Plane
United Press International
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INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Good News From Ethiopia

The schoolchildren who donated their pennies, the rock stars who gave their talents, the people who wrote checks to relief agencies—all can take pride in the news from Ethiopia.

"The skeleton-like people, the kids with bloated bellies, you hardly see that now," says M. Peter McPherson, administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development, after a visit to Ethiopia. "There are still people dying, of course, but the contrast is dramatic."

He estimates that more than five million of the eight million Ethiopians at risk of starvation are now receiving food. The worst hunger remains in the regions of Tigre and Eritrea in northern Ethiopia, where civil war still hampers relief. Congested ports, which the Ethiopian government seems unable or unwilling to clear, also are a hindrance.

Nevertheless, what once seemed a disaster

beyond imagining is not. The tragedy of famine has been alleviated for many victims. Somewhat normal rainfall seems to have returned and a crop harvest is in sight. Substantial food aid will be needed at least through next year, Mr. McPherson says. But the relief effort has succeeded so well that development officials can now focus on rebuilding Ethiopia's agriculture.

Rarely do even the best intentions produce the results we hope for. This is one of the happy exceptions—happy for Ethiopia and happy for those who responded to its plight. In the pictures of "skeleton-like people" and "kids with bloated bellies" we discerned a message: "We are the world." In feeding Ethiopia's hungry, we satisfy another kind of hunger in ourselves.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Life With the New Plague

Should schools admit children with AIDS? Need the Pentagon test recruits for exposure to the acquired immune deficiency syndrome virus? These are just the latest of the social problems raised by the deadly new disease.

The AIDS virus will kill man, woman or child if a sufficient dose gets into the bloodstream. No vaccine or treatment is available. The number of cases of this new plague doubles every year. That is reason enough for fear in principle. But there are strong grounds for most people to be reassured in practice.

AIDS is transmitted when blood or semen carrying the virus is passed from one person into the bloodstream of another. That happens in two main ways: by drug abusers sharing unclean needles or by homosexual relations. In New York, 30 percent of AIDS victims are drug addicts, 59 percent are homosexuals.

There are other, less common ways of getting AIDS. Hemophiliacs used to be at risk until a test was developed for screening blood donations. Infants can acquire the disease from their mothers in the womb or at birth. AIDS can be transmitted by heterosexual intercourse, but only very rarely. The evidence is abundant that the disease is not spread by casual contact.

Is the general population at risk? Not really. New cases overwhelmingly affect drug abusers

and homosexuals. The number of cases among the rest of the public is growing, but remains at 1 percent of the total.

What should be done about AIDS children now reaching school age? Thoughtful decisions will depend on age and other circumstances. In New York City, a special panel of health experts, an educator and a parent will screen each child with AIDS to determine whether they should be taught in the classroom or at home. AIDS children will not be segregated on the basis of fear.

The recommendation of the federal Centers for Disease Control is that most AIDS children be allowed to attend school. It cautiously suggests that preschoolers, those who bite or have open lesions, be cared for in ways that reduce possible exposure of other children.

Americans live in an unseen ocean of perilous viruses and bacteria. In New York and other large cities, that microbial ocean probably includes AIDS viruses—although they cannot live long outside the body. The body's defenses are remarkably successful in keeping invaders at bay. Ordinary contact with an AIDS victim evidently makes little difference.

AIDS is frightening because of what it does to its victims. They have enough tragedy to deal with; there is no need to ostracize them.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Full Plate for Congress

The reconvening Congress has an enormous amount of serious work to do by the end of the year. It will also have to dispose of some showy side issues on which members of both parties may be tempted to grandstand. The less of this the better. Time is shorter than it seems.

The agenda is being driven partly by the government calendar. The current fiscal year ends Sept. 30, and a lot of existing authority—to spend, to regulate in certain ways, even to tax—is scheduled to expire with it. It took Congress the full seven months before it went home for vacation Aug. 1 to adopt a budget declaring its fiscal intentions for the year ahead. Now come the bills to carry out those intentions. Only two of the regular 13 appropriations bills for next fiscal year have got as far as House-Senate conference. Six others have passed only in the House. All must be enacted by Oct. 1 or Congress, as in every year since 1975, will have to adopt a continuing resolution to sustain unfunded agencies. White House officials have indicated that President Reagan may use the veto to brush up his credentials on the spending issue.

The two houses have also committed themselves to pass reconciliation bills, wrapping up the spending cuts envisioned in the budget resolution, in such politically difficult and technically complex areas as college student aid, veterans' health benefits, Medicare, and Amtrak and other transportation subsidies.

In theory Congress must also act by Oct. 1 on a new agriculture bill (which is intertwined with the budget resolution) and an extension of the expiring Superfund program

to clean up buried toxic wastes. The House must act on the defense authorization bill, the Senate on the bill imposing sanctions on South Africa. Trade legislation is simmering in both houses. Also to be dealt with are the annual housing authorization bill, immigration reform, the year's major civil rights bill (reversing the Supreme Court's 1984 Grove City decision on the reach of civil rights laws) and a Dec. 31 deadline to fashion a new retirement program for the civil service.

The side issues will likely entail further efforts by members to distance themselves from the deficit. There continues to be pressure, chiefly from the president and in the Senate, to vote on a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. There may be the usual posturing in the Senate over raising the debt ceiling. Continuing resolutions almost always tempt some legislators to indulge in brinkmanship and threaten to shut down the government.

The White House also continues to press ahead with the president's tax reform proposal, which aides still describe as his first priority for the remainder of the year. Anything can happen in Congress. But so much time has elapsed and so many other issues remain that it is no longer clear that Congress can effectively take up this crushing subject this year. Comprehensive tax reform would powerfully affect the entire economy; the bill cannot be flipped through quickly. In his earlier years in office the president pretty much kept control of Congress's agenda, and kept it mostly simple and clean. This year is more complicated.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Other Opinion

The Investors' Sanctions

South Africa's suspension of payment on foreign credits, announced with brutal suddenness, shows clearly that the most effective sanctions against a country are not those halfheartedly recommended by a tribunal of divided nations, but rather those measures taken by separate economic agents acting in their own interests and out of fear of a worsening of their financial and commercial risks.

—Le Monde (Paris)

Approaching the Summit

With two months to go it seems that the superpowers are approaching their summit meeting with good intentions and low expectations. The expectations were one thing that worried Mikhail Gorbachev in his Time magazine interview. Clearly, though, from his remarks and the manner of their delivery, the Soviet leader is approaching the summit seriously and conscientiously.

—The Guardian (London)

FROM OUR SEPT. 4 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1910: Cretans' Status Irritates Turkey
CONSTANTINOPLE — Although limited credence is to be attached to the rumors on the imminence of a Greco-Turkish conflict, one cannot help observing that the situation in the Balkans is becoming very confused. The Turkish Government is showing a certain irritation in connection with the validation of the Cretan Ottoman subjects elected to the Hellenic National Assembly. It recently made representations on this subject to the Powers, which have accepted its view while recommending it to show patience and moderation. But the Greek Government does not seem disposed to facilitate an accord with Turkey by bringing pressure on the political parties of its country. It seems ready to leave the Assembly a full and consequently dangerous liberty in the validation of the Cretans who have been elected.

1935: A Composer's Search for Roots
NEW YORK — Leopold Godowsky, Russian-born American composer and pianist, believes he is 64. But his 4,000-mile quest for birth records, from New York to his native town, was unsuccessful. "It's bad enough," he complained, "to go all that distance and then not to find your registration. It's worse when you can't even find the town." He waved his arm and asked: "Was I born or wasn't I?" According to citizens of Vilna, I couldn't have been because the town I thought I was born in doesn't exist. At least they told me that it either didn't exist or was in Lithuania, which means about the same thing to them. Furthermore, they wanted to know what I meant coming around asking for a birth certificate in a time of war. Did you know there was a state of war between Poland and Lithuania?

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Apartheid: The EC Edges Toward Sanctions

By Giles Merritt

BRUSSELS — The search has begun in earnest for a European formula on sanctions that would help black South Africa without harming the Europeans themselves. For almost a decade the European Community has managed to sidestep the issue of apartheid. But now it appears the Community will have to define its attitude, at the very least, and possibly even take steps against South African trade.

Three EC foreign ministers — those from Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands — have just completed an information-gathering tour in South Africa, and they are to report back with recommendations when the EC Council of Ministers meets on Monday. The EC governments then are to attempt to fashion a concerted response to the situation in South Africa.

West European governments, like governments elsewhere, are deeply divided over the principle and the practice of sanctions. France urges their use, and has already withdrawn its ambassador to Pretoria

and declared a freeze on investment. But West Germany long has decried interference with trade. It opposes the use of sanctions against South Africa, just as it did against the Soviet Union and Poland.

The Netherlands, rejecting its historical links with the Afrikaners, is ready to join most other EC countries in favoring some sort of sanctions. But Britain stubbornly refuses even to contemplate their use. The belief within the British government that sanctions would aggravate the crisis in South Africa may be genuinely held. But the government's position also reflects the fact that Britons have invested about \$15 billion, or one-tenth of all Britain's foreign investments, in South Africa.

But the pressure is now on European governments to do what is right. And that is where the real confusion arises. The moral choices are far from clear-cut. The likelihood that full economic sanctions

would cost Britain alone an estimated 180,000 to 250,000 jobs has to be weighed against the very uncertain impact those sanctions might have on South Africa.

Weighing such imponderables would be easier if the anti-apartheid militants were agreed on the usefulness of sanctions. But they too are split. Some are impatient for any measures that would further destabilize South Africa, even at the risk of a bloodbath, while others argue that sanctions would hurt the blacks more than they would the whites.

The voices favoring sanctions are the loudest. They include the multiracial United Democratic Front and carry the endorsement of such moderate leaders as Bishop Desmond Tutu. Yet nobody can doubt the integrity of people such as Helmut Schmidt of the Progressive Liberal Party or of the author Alan Paton; they oppose sanctions on the theory that it is the blacks' accelerating trade unionization and eco-

nomic power that will destroy apartheid. Sanctions, they say, would slow this trend, leaving Pretoria off the hook.

As the EC governments wrestle with these arguments, they are increasingly aware that sanctions could seriously harm Europe. Full economic sanctions leading to a disruption of raw material supplies from South Africa could cripple some European industries overnight.

South Africa is the principal world supplier not just of gold but of many strategic minerals. The list is headed by chromium, manganese, phosphate rock and platinum-group metals, and includes antimony, cobalt, molybdenum, nickel, niobium, titanium and vanadium.

The vulnerability of the West to an interruption of the supply of these minerals is illustrated by the case of West Germany, which like other EC countries is now more reliant on South Africa than ever.

A study by Bonn calculated that if chromium imports were reduced by 30 percent for a year the West German gross national product would fall by 25 percent. Another analysis reckoned that chromium disruption for two years would cost the country 700,000 jobs. Meanwhile, South Africa's share of West German chromium imports has gone from 48 percent in the late 1970s, when the Bonn study was done, to more than 55 percent.

The South African Institute of International Affairs recently summed up the Botha government's smug assessment of this struggle: "Pretoria argues," the institute reported, "that South Africa is the 'Persian Gulf of minerals' and the key to the continued economic and by extension, political, well-being of the West, and should receive all possible assistance from the West."

South African diplomats in Brussels, meanwhile, say they will be surprised if the EC does not opt for some level of sanctions, even if only comparatively mild measures such as an embargo on buying South African steel and fruits. That could turn out to be a shrewd assessment.

International Herald Tribune



America, a Bystander, Must Do 'the Right Thing'

Charles Krauthammer

WASHINGTON — Americans are used to having policies. A policy is an opinion harnessed to a program to achieve some purpose. It is recognizable by its teeth and bite. Other countries are used to having opinions. Indonesia may have an opinion on the Falklands, as Niger may on Zionism. Such opinions are on display at the United Nations General Assembly, where, added up on a big board, they change nothing. Real business is conducted in the Security Council by the great powers and, most significantly, by the superpowers.

The air of uneasiness surrounding the U.S. debate on South Africa derives largely from the fact that for once Americans find themselves debating not policy but opinion. Constructive engagement, says the administration. Sanctions, says the Congress. The hard truth is that neither "policy" will greatly affect South African history. America is, to a large extent, irrelevant.

South Africa, like the Soviet Union (to use today's favorite analogy), is a great country: vast, advanced and insular. Its internal dynamics reveal an awesome collection of immovable objects and irresistible forces: a politically conscious and disenfranchised black population; a sophisticated revolutionary vanguard (the African National Congress and the loosely aligned United Democratic Front); an independent Zulu movement, one million strong (Isakathlwa); a dominant Afrikaner tribe with a strong military and nowhere to go; and Anglos, Indians and people of mixed race in varying degrees of opposition and discontent. To believe that the whispers of constructive engagement or the slap of sanctions will affect South Africa's unraveling is an illusion.

It is an illusion with some appeal. Even Bishop Desmond Tutu occasionally gives it a wistful glance. After President Pieter Botha's recent bar-

the-schoolhouse-door speech left moderates politically marooned, the bishop said South Africa was "on the brink of disaster unless a miracle intervenes." The miracle? "A decisive intervention by the international community."

If Bishop Tutu occasionally invites a foreign-made miracle, it is because he has little else to hold onto. Men of his Gandhian nobility know

Sanctions, of course, do not work. But that is not a reason to abjure them.

that South Africa's future does not belong to them. In Durban, rioters attacked the Phoenix Gandhi Settlement and burned the Mahatmas Gandhi Center to the ground. The irony was unintended, the message unmistakable. Bishop Tutu threatened to leave South Africa if black-on-black violence did not cease. He then noted that radicals were welcoming him to go, so they can "get on with the revolution without him."

They are certainly getting on without America. Being able to do so little, what should Americans do? The right thing. Impose sanctions.

Sanctions, of course, do not work. That is as close to an axiom as one finds in international relations. But that is not a reason to abjure them. The United States was morally obligated, for example, to put Poland in default after the crushing of Solidarity — not because it would change General Wojciech Jaruzelski, but simply because Americans should not be subsidizing him. Sanc-

tions are most valuable for their didactic, not their diplomatic effects.

Call it moral hygiene if you will, but cleanliness is important. And in South Africa, America's lack of influence makes the moral choice all the easier. The United States does not have to agonize long, calculating the reverberating effects of its actions. There will be effects, but they will be marginal. Sanctions will make the lot of blacks somewhat more difficult. They will "immiserate the masses" and "heighten the contradictions," as Marx liked to say, and perhaps hasten revolution by a month or two.

A subsidiary effect will be to make the whites feel their isolation more deeply. Western sanctions can depress the rand and perhaps add a bit to the panic being felt by whites. Will that induce them to reform, as the left says, or to resist more desperately, as the right pretends? Both sides are being disingenuous. No one knows. And, in either case, sanctions will hardly be decisive.

That is certainly true of the sanctions bill passed by the House, soon to be passed by the Senate, and grandly entitled The Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985. It bans the sale of Krugers in the United States, new bank loans to the government of South Africa (most American banks stopped lending seven years ago), and the sale of computers to certain South African government agencies. No more nuclear technology either. And it threatens to get stern if things do not get better in 12 months.

This is opinion, not policy. Yet even the strongest policy would only minimally affect South Africa. And on something as unanimously evil as racial oppression, it is important for a country to have opinions. Countries, too, have to be able to look themselves in the mirror.

The Washington Post Writers Group

KAL Plus 2: Shooting Down the Official Version

By Tom Wicker

NEW YORK — Two years after the shooting down of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 on Sept. 1, 1983, it seems clearer than ever that the truth of this terrible event, in which 269 lives were lost, has not been told. Facts kept turning up that will not fit the generally accepted version or that raise serious and unanswered questions about it.

That version, assiduously fostered by the Reagan administration and apparently supported by a report of the International Civil Aviation Organization, or ICAO, is that the airliner innocently strayed off course on its flight across the Pacific, inadvertently flew over Soviet territory, and was only flown down by Soviet air defense forces. The only thing certain about this is that the Russians did shoot down Flight 007, but so widely accepted is the rest of it that questioners are accused of being paranoid perpetrators of a conspiracy theory or even servants of Soviet interests.

Nevertheless, the conventional theory is inherently implausible and may be disintegrating. An affidavit by a former air traffic controller asserted that the words "two should warn him" (referring to the South Korean pilot) could be heard on a recording of U.S. radar operators, made several hours before the plane was shot down over Sakhalin Island. The affidavit was filed last week as evidence in a civil lawsuit against the U.S. government and KAL by surviving relatives of those who died aboard 007.

The federal judge conducting the trial will hear the tape and rule as to whether these words can, in fact, be heard. If they can, they contradict the Reagan administration's claim that no American knew that Flight 007 was in trouble during more than five hours when it flew off course by hundreds of miles across skies in which the United States deploys a vast array of electronic sentinels.

That claim was considerably tarnished when, in the same trial, the government disclosed in February that air force tape recordings of radar

tracks of part of the airliner's course had been destroyed. Such tapes are normally "recycled" 30 hours after being recorded; but the fate of Flight 007 was known in less than 30 hours after the tapes were made. In view of the importance of the incident, how could these tapes have been "routinely" destroyed, as claimed?

In May, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone of Japan released, following a parliamentary request, data from Japanese Defense Agency monitors that tracked Flight 007 as it entered and flew over Soviet territory.

The data detailed significant changes of altitude and speed by the Korean plane while radio transmissions, ostensibly from its pilots, described quite different maneuvers.

This new information — withheld from the public for nearly a year and

a half — not only suggests that as they flew over Sakhalin, the pilots were taking evasive action while dodging air traffic controllers. It directly contradicts both the administration's version of events and the ICAO report on which that version heavily relies. Both claim that the pilots, not knowing they were entering Soviet territory, maintained their assigned altitude until shot down.

The State Department, queried by The Nation magazine — which published in its Aug. 17-24 issue an account of new developments in the Flight 007 case — said the ICAO had been given the Japanese Defense Agency data and had considered it in its report. But "a member of the organization's inquiry team" told The Nation that the ICAO had never seen the altitude and speed data.

On the very day Flight 007 was destroyed, the Japanese Defense Agency issued a map describing the airliner's course as a broad arc over Sakhalin Island, a total turn of about 20 degrees. But to arrive over Sakhalin at the point of interception by Soviet fighter, Flight 007 must first have made a northward turn from the course on which it departed Anchorage, Alaska.

These two turns, which from data now available seem indisputable, not only belie President Reagan's statement that when intercepted the plane had been flying "a straight-line course" for two and a half hours; together with the newly released speed and altitude changes recorded by the Japanese Defense Agency, the turns suggest that the pilots knew where they were and deliberately flew over Soviet territory.

The New York Times

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Rosita's Message

Regarding the cartoon "You Can Help Make Rosita an Orphan, or You Can Turn the Page" (Aug. 26):

I usually appreciate your editorial-page cartoons, but this one was insensitive. To use the well-known pleas of relief organizations that try to help orphans, in order to depict a Central American scenario where the ulterior motive is to create orphans, is unpleasant even for commentators' sake. Every reader must indeed have "turned the page" in dismay.

ERIC SCHALLENBERG, Geneva.

Someone should tell the cartoonist that Nicaragua's Sandinista leaders have done more than their share in the manufacture of orphans.

JAMES E. WARRING, Herkimer, West Germany.

Steve Sack's cartoon is surely one of the most striking and powerful I

can remember. If more of your readers, and more of my American compatriots, could be made to see the horrors of this and every war, perhaps some semblance of sanity would return to U.S. foreign policy.

JOHN M. COCHRAN 3d, Paris.

Tibet's Lesson to Taiwan

Regarding the column "The Vast Sea of Chinese Threatens to Swamp Tibet" (Aug. 10) by the Dalai Lama:

The tragedy of Tibet is a lesson that deserves constant re-teaching. The Communist mainland's proposals to Taiwan for peaceful reunification and regional autonomy are practically the same proposals the Chinese made to the Tibetans before they invaded. They have been occupying Tibet ever since, resulting in many deaths and the destruction of a rich and unique culture.

The Dalai Lama's message should

be a warning to anyone who thinks Beijing's proposals to Taiwan for peaceful reunification and regional autonomy could ever be realized. After agreeing to such a proposal, Taiwan would undoubtedly also become the victim of an invasion and occupation and untold destruction and death. The 19 million Chinese on Taiwan do not deserve such a fate. What they do deserve is the support of all free nations so as not to acquiesce under Beijing's pressure.

BENJAMIN SHAO, Taipei.

No End to Racism?

Regarding the report "Kahane Erodes Support of Israel's Likud" (Aug. 8) by Thomas L. Friedman:

It is frightening that radicals such as Rabbi Meir Kahane cannot take a step back from their fanaticism and watch themselves inflict on non-Jews the same racist policies Jewish people have suffered for centuries in other parts of the world. If those who have been the victims of persecution turn around and do the same to others there is little hope of ending the senseless racial bullying so prevalent in our "enlightened" times.

JENNIFER FELDMAN, Paris.

The Right Gaz

Regarding the report "French Government Urges to Go on Display in Tokyo" (Aug. 17):

The company that supplies natural gas to Strasbourg and its region is Gaz de Strasbourg, not Gaz de France. Gaz de Strasbourg is jointly owned by the city of Strasbourg and a company called La Lyonnaise des Eaux. It is separate and independent from Gaz de France.

MARGARET M. AHEARN, Public Relations, Gaz de Strasbourg, France.

From China, Lessons in Terra-Cotta

By Anthony Lewis

XIAN, China — The diverse regions of this huge country were first united in 221 B.C. when Qin Shihuangdi conquered other states and proclaimed himself emperor. The name Qin, pronounced China in English, gave us the word China. Qin Shihuangdi also left one of the most extraordinary monuments on earth: the terra-cotta army.

Qin began planning his tomb at the age of 14. He conscripted 700,000 laborers to work on a complex that covers 22 square miles (57 square kilometers). Outside the tomb itself, underground, he placed the army of life-size terra-cotta soldiers and horses and chariots: his guardians after death. A peasant digging a well found one in 1974. There are estimated to be 7,999 others.

Seeing these sculptured figures standing in rows where they were put 2,200 years ago tells one in the most electrifying way what history means in China. History and art, for the figures are amazing works of art: all different, all individuals, of many facial and body types — some almost Tudor in appearance, with mustaches and small beards.

Chinese tourists make their way to the terra-cotta army on the outskirts of Xian by the thousands every day to see their past. But it is not just ancient history that is on view in Xian. There are relics of recent history that carry significant messages.

In Xian in 1936 two of Chiang Kai-shek's own commanders, turned against him because he was fighting the Chinese Communists instead of the invaders. He was at a resort here, and he fled up a nearby mountain, where he was caught and eventually agreed to a united front against the Japanese. The site of the Xian Incident, as it is called, is a major Chinese tourist attraction.

Even more mesmerizing for Chinese visitors is a shabby building that housed an important office of the Communists from 1936 to 1946. It is the Eighth Route Army office, now a museum. Zhou Enlai's spartan bedroom is on view, with his books on a shelf. Deng Xiaoping was here, too, and there is a striking picture of the leader, now 81, as a young man. A 1939 Chevrolet used for trips to Communist headquarters in Yenan is on show. You can have your picture taken in an Eighth Route Army uniform.

To see that building is to understand a premise of this society. Political legitimacy rests on the revolution. Maoist excesses have shaken that premise, as far as I can see. Even those who would like China to adopt Western ideas of intellectual freedom — at least those whom I have met — do not challenge the revolution or its symbols. It is as much a part of life's assumptions as George Washington & Co. are for Americans. Hence the veneration for the Eighth Route Army office.

To say that it is to realize how formidable a task Deng Xiaoping has undertaken. He is making changes that would shake the psychology of any people, all the while paying respect to revolutionary symbols. Under the motto of "self-reliance," for example, Mao essentially sealed China off from the outside world for years. That was perhaps understandable in a country that had been so often invaded and exploited. The result, in any event, was isolation.

The motto remains self-reliance to this day. But it is said now that China must have foreign investment and foreign expertise in order to become self-reliant. The phrase has been stood on its head.

In the last six months, 1.2 million foreigners have entered China, 39 percent more than in the same period of last year. Xian has a glossy new American-owned hotel — the Golden Flower — and other Western hotels are on the way. For anyone who was in the People's Republic even a few years ago, such things are of a breathtaking strangeness.

The authorities here plan soon to excavate what they think is the actual tomb of Qin Shihuangdi, under an enormous mound near the terra-cotta warriors. Historians of 2,000 years ago said the tomb contained a storehouse of riches with the rivers of China flowing in mercury. Archaeologists probed the mound recently with electronic sensors, and found mercury levels 280 times the normal level.

The evidence of change in China should not mislead the visitor into expecting transformation. History, modern and ancient, has too many claims on the people and the institutions of the country. It is something that Americans, historical and filled with optimism, find hard to understand. History, with all its beauty and pain, is everywhere in China.

The New York Times

هكذا من النظم

After a Year of South African Violence, Experts Detect a More Radical Black Mood

By Alan Cowell

New York Times Service

JOHANNESBURG — In the year since unrest took root in black townships, South African academics and other specialists assert, a shift of mood has overtaken many black communities, propelling them toward radicalism and harsh tactics.

By this argument, violence has won a kind of legitimacy, and has become more intense and more directed than ever before toward the overthrow of white rule.

Collaboration by blacks with the white authorities, one academic said, has become "virtually impossible" because of frequent and brutal attacks on those deemed to be stooges of white authority.

In white politics, the academic said, the government's handling of unrest has broken an emerging coalition between Afrikaner nationalists and influential, white, English-speaking business groups seeking more rapid racial transformation than the Afrikaner authorities have been prepared to offer.

The assessment was made in interviews on the eve of a bleak anniversary: On Sept. 3 last year, a protest over rent increases in the township of Sharpeville erupted into violence that claimed 29 lives there and in nearby settlements such as Sebokeng and Evaton. The date is regarded as the start of South Africa's newest paroxysm of unrest.

The anniversary has another portent, too. Sept. 3, 1984, was the day on which the South African

authorities sought to implant the new constitution, which allowed people of mixed and Indian racial descent to sit in a segregated, three-chamber Parliament.

The black majority of 23 million was excluded from the arrangement, and that ostracism now seems to have returned to haunt the country.

Township activism since then, analysts and commentators said, has cast the African National Congress in a new role, transforming the outlawed organization into more of a spiritual inspiration and rallying point of protest than a director or controller of day-to-day events. This assessment, however, is disputed by some of the organization's exiled leaders.

At the same time, and in contrast to the events when violence erupted in Soweto in 1976, nonwhite resistance has become decentralized into a diverse movement that is difficult to destroy simply by detaining its leading figures.

If there is a gap in black resistance, some academics said, it lies in the absence of sustained political action by the trade union movement. Until the mine workers' strike that ended Tuesday, the unions had mobilized black economic power only twice — in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth — with great local impact that has not been mirrored across the country.

What has been equally absent in the past year, some commentators said, is the kind of sabotage and armed conflict that marked the African National Congress' activities



Policemen with some of the 69 blacks who were killed in Sharpeville in 1960. On March 21, the 25th anniversary of the deaths, the police killed 20 blacks in Langa, in the worst of a series of incidents in the past year in South Africa.

before its infiltration routes into South Africa were severed by South Africa's nonaggression treaties with neighboring Mozambique and Swaziland.

In turn, some analysts said, the treaties helped persuade blacks that there would be no salvation from beyond their borders.

These views have emerged after a year of discontent and upheaval that has claimed more than 670 lives, forced the government to im-

pose a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts and brought the South African rand to its lowest levels ever against the U.S. dollar.

The government has declared a four-month freeze on the repayment of its foreign debt. Exchange controls have been reintroduced and unrest does not seem to be going away.

The unrest started last year in areas around Johannesburg, first in what is called the Vaal Triangle of

industrial plants and black townships south of the city, then spread to closer townships, such as Tembisa and Katlehong.

Soweto, Johannesburg's sprawling black satellite, has not been touched by widespread violence like that which claimed hundreds of lives there in 1976. One reason, some activists say they believe, is widespread infiltration of the place by police informers since 1976.

Last February, political activists

began disclosing evidence and claims of police brutality in the Eastern Cape, a traditional focus of support for the African National Congress, and an area where the Xhosa-speaking people pride themselves on the strength of their resistance to white domination.

On March 21, the 25th anniversary of the killing by the police of 69 black protesters in Sharpeville, the police shot 20 blacks to death in Langa, outside the Eastern Cape

automotive center of Uitenhage, in the worst single incident of the year. The killings seemed to be a turning point.

After the shootings, seven blacks deemed to be stooges of white rule were killed and burned to death in the nearby township of KwaNobuhle, seeming to make into an institution the form of retribution that has become known in black townships as a "killing," after the fried chicken of that name.

The Eastern Cape has continued to be an area of profound unrest. Beginning in May, and until a state of emergency was imposed on July 21, the focus seemed to shift to the East Rand, an area of white mining towns and black townships in the gold area east of Johannesburg.

"The unrest," said Professor Tom Lodge of the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, "has seen the expression of very violent feelings and these feelings being accorded a degree of popular legitimacy."

"This round of unrest is different to Soweto in 1976, which happened in a virtual political vacuum," he said, discussing the role of the African National Congress. "This unrest happened after seven or eight years of political development, mobilization, the development of political organizations and the expansion of the role of the ANC in the townships."

Mr. Lodge, who is regarded as South Africa's leading academic expert on the African National Congress, said violence may start because of "local events."

"But very quickly political movements come in and play a leading role," Mr. Lodge said. Those movements, he said, had "given a kind of purpose and a long-term agenda."

He said that "in some ways the unrest has taken the ANC by surprise, and they are certainly not in control of it or in any position to be able to control it."

He did not, however, suggest that the organization's influence had been eclipsed. When black protesters fought the police, he said, they were "responding to a long-term vision of a society in which

they will be free and in which injustice will no longer be a feature of their lives, and in which Mandela will be the president."

Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, has been in prison for more than 20 years on sabotage charges.

The view was disputed by Professor Robert Schrire of the University of Cape Town, who said that, while the African National Congress represented "the symbol of what the protest is about, epitomizing the values" of the protesters, it was in danger of being left behind by the growth of the radical movement in the townships.

Over the past year, Mr. Schrire said, "two things have manifested themselves: a historical increase in the intensity of violence" and an increase in violence that had "become far more political."

Mr. Schrire said many black groups still sought a peaceful settlement. But, he added, in the absence of any change, "probably more extreme groups" would arise.

What the authorities were facing, he said, was "a degree of mass discontent that is unique" and a "political decentralization" that meant "there is no political head that you can just nip off."

Since the state of emergency began, the authorities have detained more than 2,000 people, the bulk of them members of the United Democratic Front, the country's biggest nonparliamentary organization, which claims a following of 1.5 million people.

One of its most active affiliates is the Congress of South African Students, an organization of radical high school students, many of whom have been detained. Since unrest took root, older township residents have said that, increasingly, their children are at the forefront of protest.

Mr. Schrire said that, despite the detention of leaders and "the increasing heavy-handedness of the police," the "organizations are there, the passions are there." He added, "The arrests of the leadership will either have no effect or it may make violence worse."

Black Mine Workers' Leader Seeks to Change an Unpromising Reality

By Sheila Rule

New York Times Service

JOHANNESBURG — Cyril Ramaphosa, the leader of the largest black mine workers' union in South Africa, recalled a time when he was a boy walking to school and a soldier in uniform and big boots kicked him into a ditch without provocation.

He said he did not cry. He stared at the soldier, picked up his small briefcase and continued on to class.

That was in 1960 and a state of emergency had been imposed in the turmoil that followed the shooting deaths by the police of 69 blacks at Sharpeville, south of Johannesburg. White soldiers and policemen were stationed in Mr. Ramaphosa's township of Western Native near Johannesburg, and the boy did not understand.

"I went to my mother and asked why," he said. Mr. Ramaphosa, now 32, was old at the time, the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers.

"She told me that the government had decided to take over the township because black people and the African National Congress were putting pressure on the government," he said Sunday at his office on the fringe of Johannesburg's city center. "After being kicked like that, I felt bitter against white people, which took me a long time to realize that it was the reality of the South African situation."

Now Mr. Ramaphosa is trying to fashion a different South African reality, one that, among other changes, would narrow the gap between what blacks and whites are paid for doing the same jobs.



'After being kicked like that, I felt bitter against white people, which took me a long time to overcome. But I began to realize that it was the reality of the South African situation.'

Cyril Ramaphosa

For two days, he led a strike against seven gold and coal mines. His union, regarded as the country's strongest black labor group, says it has a paid membership of 150,000 among 550,000 black mine workers. But it says it could mobilize 230,000.

Although the workers had struck over pay, they had demands that

represented a political challenge to the government of President Pieter W. Botha.

They wanted the authorities to lift the state of emergency imposed in 36 magisterial districts in July and to take back a threat to repress foreign black workers in reprisal for any international sanctions against South Africa. In trying to

win on these issues, the miners also had boycotted white-owned shops in mining towns.

But Mr. Ramaphosa, a bearded man with a gentle manner that disguises what associates say is a strong determination, faced realities that hold little promise.

Even before it ended Tuesday night, he said he expected the strike to buckle under the force of power and intimidation. Some mine owners had threatened to shut off water supplies and to refuse to feed the miners, who live in all-male hostels in mine compounds while they work out one-year contracts.

In addition, the union, begun three years ago, had no strike fund.

"The mine workers are like captive labor," Mr. Ramaphosa said softly, lighting a cigarette.

"Their situation is such that they can be manipulated completely by the mine owners," he said. "We've already said that if they use force, we are going to pull out our entire membership in the mines."

"But we don't foresee the workers holding out for too long," he continued in the interview, which took place two days before the strike ended. "They could be shipped out to the 'homelands' and the law allows the owners to do just that. But taking strike action is the last weapon we have at this point."

Mr. Ramaphosa is a lawyer whose education was interrupted by arrests and detention. While attending the University of the North, he was chairman of the South African Students Organization, a militant group that gave birth to virtually all other student groups now working for change.

He was arrested for his political activities and held in solitary confinement for 11 months. His organization is banned now.

When he was released in 1975, he was refused re-entry to the university. Mr. Ramaphosa was arrested again in 1976 in the uprising that centered on the vast black township of Soweto and detained for six months. After that he enrolled at the University of South Africa and gained his law degree in 1980.

But this grandson of a diamond mine worker — one of his biggest regrets, he says, is that he had never worked in the mines — decided against practicing law.

He said he came to realize that while he would be able to serve the people, he would be serving only those who could afford to pay. He chose not to become, in his words, "a mercenary."

The trade union movement was about the only available vehicle for Mr. Ramaphosa's commitment.

The Council of Unions of South Africa gave him a job as their legal adviser and then asked him to head the organizing committee to start the National Union of Mineworkers in 1982. At the new union's first conference, he was elected general secretary.

Since then, there has been no time for hobbies. Mr. Ramaphosa, who is divorced and has no children, begins his day by 7 A.M. Negotiations with employers or meetings with members take a large portion of his time, and when he returns to his home in Soweto, he eats a meal and works into the late hours.

But, he said, he had no regrets. "I have no time for anything else; I am being honest," Mr. Ramaphosa said. "Somebody wrote an article in the Sowetan newspaper and put it rather crudely. They said: 'He was married but the marriage did not work. He is now married to the union and that seems to be working.' Yes, it is working."

Sri Lanka Says Tamils Have Killed 9

Reuters

COLOMBO, Sri Lanka — Tamil separatist guerrillas killed seven policemen and two top Tamil politicians in a upsurge of violence in Sri Lanka, a government spokesman said Tuesday.

The attacks came a day before the cabinet was due to discuss a peace plan to resolve the conflict between the island's Sinhalese majority and Tamil minority. Violence on the island has left about 2,000 people dead in the past two years.

The government spokesman said that about 150 guerrillas fired on a police station at Eravur, in the eastern part of the country, on Monday night with rocket propelled grenades, mortars, bombs and machine guns. Seven policemen were killed, 12 were wounded and one was abducted.

In separate raids, guerrillas killed two former Tamil members of parliament after seizing them from their homes in the northern Jaffna district on Monday night, the spokesman said.

The two men, whose bodies were found Tuesday morning, belonged to the Tamil United Liberation Front, the main political party of the minority community.

The assassinations of A.M. Alalasingham and Visvanathan Dharasingham were clearly a warning to the front, a moderate group, not to participate in peace talks with the government, political analysts said.

Residents in Jaffna said that two other former front parliamentarians disappeared from their homes on Monday night. The two were identified as S. Yogeswaran and K. Dorairathnam.

No one has claimed responsibility for the attacks on the police station and the two murders. But government sources said that they believed the assassinations were launched by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the main guerrilla group fighting for a separate state for Tamils. Eelam is the name proposed for the autonomous region.

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ARTS / LEISURE

Dutch Artist-Writer
Subject of Musical

By Michael Zwerin
International Herald Tribune
AMSTERDAM — The jacket copy on the autobiography "I, Jan Cremer" bragged that the book was written "to shock and make the author a lot of money." It sold more than six million copies.

A rock opera version with the same name that opened Aug. 10 in Groningen moved to Rotterdam Saturday for a two-week run; it cost 2.2 million Dutch guilders (\$628,930). According to the local press, it is the most expensive Dutch theater production of all time.

The book was first published in Dutch in 1964, back when mention of the Netherlands was often prefaced by "staid." After Cremer, the adjective became "permissive," with a boost from the crowds of stoned hippies playing guitars on Dam Square and camping in the Vondelpark.

To the extent that he put sexually explicit and violent experiences into language that until then had been limited mainly to locker rooms and brothels, Cremer can be compared to Lenny Bruce. His influence on youth, literary merit aside, was not unlike that of Jack Kerouac. The book described juvenile adventures as a wanderer, a brawler, a smuggler, a sailor, an artist and a Foreign Legionnaire.

Mounting the rock opera took "15 years of endless arguments," the magazine *Nieuwe Revu* said; these included controversy over a subsidy from the Ministry of Culture added to private Dutch and Belgian financing. The critics have been mostly positive, and the production is scheduled to open Sept. 27 for two weeks in Amsterdam's prestigious Carré theater.

"The writer just told me all his friends are coming to the Carré and the run is already sold out," Cremer said in a seafood restaurant on

the Leidseplein, around the corner from "my girlfriend's house. I'm a working class hero. Waiters, farmers, policeman — these are my fans. Most of the people who bought my book had never been in a bookshop before."

He was in Amsterdam to get ready for the musical and an opening of an exhibition of what he describes as his "action paintings" in an upstairs gallery on the Prinsengracht. He was leaving in four days for New York, where he would stay in a hotel. He lives "nowhere. I'm a nomad. I get nervous after three weeks in one place."

He needed a shave. He was wearing a Saxon leather jacket over a flowered tropical shirt. He seemed hung over. With his tattooed forearm and tusk build, he resembles a longshoreman.

"This week we sold the 750,000th Dutch copy of my book. Man, in Dutch, 5,000 copies is a best seller. I'm selling 40,000 a year." The book tells of exploits that would provoke envy on the part of Henry Miller and the Marquis de Sade. Asked if they were all true, he leaned back with an enigmatic smile: "What should I say?"

Somebody once described a hustler, as a person who knows you need something he is pushing, though you may not know you need it yourself. You get the feeling Cremer would not object to being so defined. Exaggeration is organic to a hustler: when asked to confirm, as he had just claimed, that the rock opera "I, Jan Cremer" really does have 50 dancers, actors, singers and musicians onstage, plus 200 hands backstage, he nodded: "Yeah. It's kind of rock 'n' roll circus."

The actual numbers are 32 onstage and 10 backstage. Chalk the hyperbole up to a facet of the Dutch character that tends to compensate for small territory by big numbers, as well as frequent and distant travel.



Jan Cremer: "One of the roughest and toughest."

Cremer was born "on the eve of World War II" in the factory town of Enschede near the German border. His father, who died in 1942, was Dutch and his mother Hungarian. Because of her accent, the Germans thought they were Russian and the Dutch treated them as foreigners. The book often compares Dutch with German disciplinarians. Cremer spent a lot of time in juvenile prisons: "I was one of the roughest and toughest of all the lot."

Late in 1964, with his first royalty check, he bought a "one-way ticket to New York," took over Larry Rivers's studio in the Chelsea Hotel, became an abstract expressionist painter and stayed there 12 years. After writing several other books, which did less well, he now supports himself mainly by painting (\$9,000 for a big work, he said). He likes to visit the Soviet Union, and says he was one of the first journalists admitted to the People's Republic of Mongolia, 14 years ago. He has published articles and photographs in *Playboy* and other magazines. Feeling at home with his Hungarian ancestry, he

spends several months a year in Budapest, which he called "a combination of Barcelona, Vienna and prewar Paris. It's the most colorful city I know."

Although he had script approval and was a consultant for the musical, he did not write any of it and seems rather disinterested about the production, other than hussling it: "It's in the tradition of 'Hair' and 'West Side Story.'"

The *Nieuwe Revu* describes a scene: "A brothel with undulating navels and limbs and ladies wearing abbreviated lingerie. One woman playing a sadomasochistic role wearing a tight leather suit wielding a red whip." The poster features a field Angel type on a motorcycle. The music is made by a loud, young, technologically state-of-the-art English and Dutch rock band. Cremer says he prefers listening to Bill Haley records.

He has "chosen after all to stay European. I use New York to charge up my battery, but I prefer the earth in Europe. You can smell the blood, sweat and tears of the ages. In America the earth is all loose ends."

Shawn Rambles in 'Aunt Dan and Lemon'

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — When they come to write the history of the modern American theater, they are going to have a problem with Wallace Shawn. A writer of rambling conversation pieces like "My Dinner With André," he fits into no convenient theory of the new drama.

THE LONDON STAGE

and, indeed, seems to piece together his scripts on a curious axis of old movies and late-night radio phone-ins by philosophic insomnia cranks.

His latest play, written for the London/New York exchange program being operated by the Royal Court and Joe Papp's Public Theatre, is "Aunt Dan and Lemon."

Watching a preview, it seemed to me that Max Stafford-Clark's immensely strong production, while failing to bridge one or two severe cracks in the structure, yet comes as further proof that the shows that travel from the Court to the Public, as this one soon will, are still a lot stronger than the ones that come in the opposite direction.

True, "Aunt Dan" starts somewhere in mid-Atlantic. Shawn is, of course, American, but is writing here of English experience and for an British-American-Australian cast led by the Oscar winner Linda Hunt.

Shawn has taken over from John Heard in rehearsal four of the male roles, making the whole affair as much of an evening with Wally as was his dinner with André.

Essentially, we again have here a debate between two characters: The one in "André" was about the difference between achievers and non-achievers; the one in "Aunt Dan" is about the morality of power and the rights of the individual to determine governmental behavior. Central to this, and to the play, is a prolonged argument about whether Henry Kissinger was, as they used to ask in "1066 and All That," on balance a Good Thing or a Bad Thing.

This is the kind of argument that you can still hear at American dinner parties and find in the columns of small-circulation magazines occasionally financed by the CIA, but it tends to lack a certain drama. Action is not, however, a main interest of Shawn. Instead he writes eccentric, languid, stream-of-consciousness monologues.

some running upwards of 10 minutes each, all of which then gradually overlap into exotic character studies.

Aunt Danielle, as played by Linda Hunt, is a kind of academic guru who teaches Leonora, otherwise known as Lemon, secrets of the universe while failing to do anything about an apparently lesbian attachment to her. Her open university lectures on ethics are occasionally interrupted by other characters, mostly involved in a weird subplot about the murder of a gangster, and it is vastly to the credit of Hunt as Aunt Dan and Kathryn Pogson as Lemon that they manage to retain our interest while working their way through sub-clauses that would be the envy of Kissinger himself.

Not only does Shawn belong to no recognizable school of drama, the one he is building for himself is still evidently under construction and inclined to fall apart around the edges. Yet for all that, there is something deeply compelling about his courage in assuming that an audience wishes to eavesdrop on a debate, rather than attend a spectacle or a coherent plot. And when he appears on stage, a pockmarked, balding innocent abroad, stationed somewhere halfway from Andy Hardy to Woody Allen, you begin to believe that perhaps there might be something actually happening here after all, though I suspect he has yet to work out quite what it is.

At the Court's Theatre Upstairs, and as part of the same Anglo-American exchange, we have the Public Theatre's production of "Tracers," a series of blackout sketches performed by the Vietnam Veterans Ensemble. Through the evening has not been nearly so carefully or successfully put together as Michael Herr's "Dispatches" at the National in 1979, this collage of limbs and limbo is given its strength by the fact that several of its participants were in Saigon and are now here to recall and re-enact that particular American nightmare. It makes for an eerie companion piece to Shawn's cerebral musings on the nature of cruelty on the stage below.

Other aspects of an altogether other war: Into the Barbican Pit from Stratford has come Nicholas Wright's "The Desert Air," a curious comedy of World War II, mostly set in Cairo during 1942-43 and suggested by a secret-service history of that confused time.

If you can imagine "Casablanca" rewritten by Peter Nichols, you'll have some idea of what to expect. Wright's thesis is essentially that the enemy was within the ranks, and that the British army of that time and place was engaged not only against the Germans and Italians but more intriguingly in a vast battlefield of class warfare.

The thesis is not, of course, entirely new or unexplored. It lay at the heart of Evelyn Waugh's "Sword of Honour," though there is a central difference here in that where Waugh thought British class structures were liable to be severely worsened by World War II, Wright takes the view that they were improved by it.

His central figure is Colonel Gore, known as "the Hippo" and by his own definition "a stumpy" — one of the little men who, like Montgomery, were to inherit the earth once they had disbartered the old officer class.

In Geoffrey Hutchings' marvelously sweaty, irritable, acerbic performance, we watch the rise of the Hippo, bitterly opposed to the local natives ("I hate wogs who deny their wogness") but still more opposed to the pointy-headed bastards from public schools who he feels have to be defeated even before the Nazis.

The result is a black comedy of behind-the-scenes society, which suffers from a near-impenetrable subplot about resistance maneuvers but soars to heights of splendid satire whenever Hippo is rampant. Peter Eyre joins palely as the unwilling symbol of all that Hippo is out to destroy in his own mind, while Cecile Paoletti does an intriguing semi-parody of Ingrid Bergman in all Hollywood spy films this side of "Notorious."

But in the end, and unsurprisingly, Hippo overtakes and annexes and suppresses the play until we are left with a single corpse amid the ruins of the plot that he and his author have first laid, and then dynamited from within. At the very least he now deserves to be brought back to life for his own television series of further misadventures.

China to Take Designs to Paris Show

Agence France-Press
BEIJING — China will participate for the first time in the international Ready-to-Wear fashion show next month in Paris, Xinhua news agency has announced.

Juilliard to Mark 80th Year

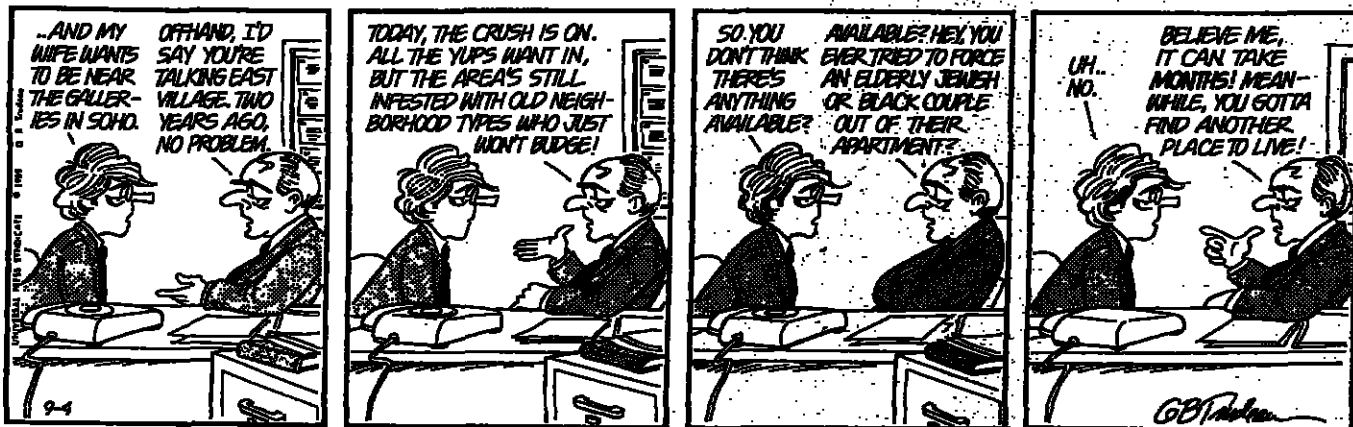
The Associated Press
NEW YORK — The Juilliard School will present the soprano Leontyne Price, one of its most famous graduates, and current students on a public television special next month marking its 80th anniversary.

The institution, named the Juilliard School of Music before it moved to a new building in Lincoln

Center in 1969, will be the theme of a two-hour "Live from Lincoln Center" special Oct. 5.

Price will sing the death aria from Barber's "Antony and Cleopatra." The Juilliard Quartet will be joined by two students to play Brahms's "Sextet in B Flat." Dance students will perform "Clovien Kingdom" choreographed by Paul Taylor, a Juilliard graduate.

DOONESBURY



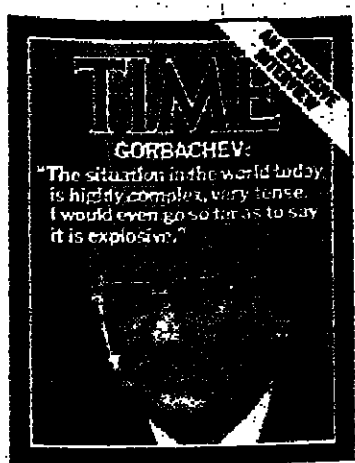
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"Relations between our two countries are continuing to deteriorate, the arms race is intensifying and the war threat is not subsiding...Surely, God on high has not refused to give us enough wisdom to find ways to bring us an improvement in our relations."

—From an extraordinary two-hour interview with Mikhail Gorbachev in this week's issue, the first meeting held by the new Soviet leader with any Western publication.

It's all in TIME.

NYSE Most Actives					
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.	
Traveler	40.45	41.00	41.00	+1/4	
United	32.00	32.00	32.00	+1/4	
Eastair	13.00	13.00	13.00	+1/4	
Occidental	12.00	12.00	12.00	+1/4	
Wing	11.00	11.00	11.00	+1/4	
IBM	10.00	10.00	10.00	+1/4	
AT&T	9.00	9.00	9.00	+1/4	
Sperry	8.00	8.00	8.00	+1/4	
Wells	7.00	7.00	7.00	+1/4	
USF&S	6.00	6.00	6.00	+1/4	

Dow Jones Averages					
Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.	
Index	1231.47	1232.14	1232.14	-4.82	
Transp.	68.42	69.10	68.50	-4.10	
Indus.	100.00	100.00	100.00	-2.00	
Comp.	33.75	34.00	33.75	-2.25	

NYSE Index					
High	Low	Close	Chg.		
Composite	1231.47	1232.14	-4.82		
Industries	100.00	100.00	-2.00		
Transp.	68.42	69.10	-4.10		
Comp.	33.75	34.00	-2.25		

NYSE Closing					
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.	
Vol. of 4 P.M.	81,700				
Prev. 4 P.M. vol.	81,700				
Prev. consolidated close	9,677.34				

AMEX Diaries					
Class	Prev.				
Advanced	1.75				
Unchanged	1.75				
New High	1.75				
New Low	1.75				
Volume up	1.75				
Volume down	1.75				

NASDAQ Index					
Class	Prev.				
Composite	251.1				
Industries	251.1				
Transp.	251.1				
Comp.	251.1				

AMEX Most Actives					
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.	
Domestic	1.75				
Foreign	1.75				
Options	1.75				
Warrants	1.75				
Convertible	1.75				

Dow Jones Bond Averages					
Bonds	Close	Chg.			
Utilities	80.25				
Industries	80.25				

NYSE Diaries					
Class	Prev.				
Advanced	1.75				
Unchanged	1.75				
New High	1.75				
New Low	1.75				
Volume up	1.75				
Volume down	1.75				

Odd-Lot Trading in N.Y.					
Buy	Sell	*B*Y			
Aug. 28	11,445	20,770	10,000		
Aug. 29	14,667	27,716	1,000		
Aug. 30	14,667	27,716	1,000		
Aug. 31	14,667	27,716	1,000		
Aug. 31	14,667	27,716	1,000		

Standard & Poor's Index					
Class	Prev.				
Industries	289.49				
Transp.	174.94				
Utilities	84.29				
Comp.	21.78				
Composite	188.63				

AMEX Sales					
Class	Prev.				
Advanced	1.75				
Unchanged	1.75				
New High	1.75				
New Low	1.75				
Volume up	1.75				
Volume down	1.75				

AMEX Stock Index					
Class	Prev.				
Advanced	1.75				
Unchanged	1.75				
New High	1.75				
New Low	1.75				
Volume up	1.75				
Volume down	1.75				

NYSE Prices Ease in Slow Trade					
Class	Prev.				
Advanced	1.75				
Unchanged	1.75				
New High	1.75				
New Low	1.75				
Volume up	1.75				
Volume down	1.75				

NYSE Prices Ease in Slow Trade

NEW YORK — Prices on the New York Stock Exchange drifted lower Tuesday as the slow activity of August reached into September. Trading was light.

The market opened lower and the Dow Jones industrial average had declined nearly 10 points by mid-afternoon. In late trading, it trimmed its losses with the Dow industrial average closing down 4.82 to 1,232.14.

Declines outnumbered advances by a 2-1 ratio. Volume totaled 81.6 million shares, down slightly from 81.6 million on Friday. The market was closed Monday for Labor Day.

"The market was weak all day," said Alfred Goldman, stock market strategist for A.G. Edwards in St. Louis.

"Not only did the Dow industrial average decline, but it took the transportation and utility issues down with it," he said.

"The market has been acting poorly for the last month and even the rallies have been feeble and unimpressive," Mr. Goldman added. "After weeks with money managers on vacation, the full audience is back. They aren't too impressed and they have good reason not to be," he said.

Louis Salero of Drexel Burnham Lambert said the expectation that the market would move higher as soon as people returned from vacation was "a joke."

With economists divided between those who see signs of an economic revival and those who see no signs of improvement for the rest of the year, investors are uncertain, he said.

"Everything has to be re-analyzed and it will

be seven to 10 business days before any major decisions are reached," Mr. Salero said.

Mr. Goldman said data that continues to outline an economy that is "at best sluggish" is discouraging buyers.

"Participants have had six months of promises that the economy will pick up and now they are taking a 'show me' attitude while reacting to the reality of a slow economy," he said.

A purchasing managers survey said the economy slumped, with a rise in output offset by lower prices and lower employment. But the Commerce Department later reported U.S. construction spending rose 1.7 percent in July.

Mr. Goldman said the 1,300-level on the Dow has taken on increased psychological and technical significance and that once support there is broken, the market will move down to the 1,200 to 1,220 area after encountering interim support in the 1,260-1,270 area.

Harry Vilcek of Sutro & Co. in Palo Alto, California, was more optimistic. "Look for the market to test support in the 1,290-1,300 area within a week or two," he said. "At that level the market will be so oversold that we will see the start of the bull market."

Travelers Corp. was the most actively traded issue, losing 1/4 to 41 1/4. Union Carbide was second, down 1/4 to 55 1/2. SCM Corp. was third.

The session's biggest gainer, it jumped 5 to 7 1/2. Hanson Trust, a British concern, said it was increasing its pending cash tender offer for SCM common stock to \$72 a share.

General Motors declined 1/4 to 67 1/2. The Environmental Protection Agency said GM is recalling about 454,000 of its 1981 cars to correct problems with anti-pollution equipment.

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere.

Via The Associated Press



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NYSE Prices Ease in Slow Trade					
Class	Prev.				
Advanced	1.75				
Unchanged	1.75				
New High	1.75				
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(Continued on Page 10)

Dollar Gains Sharply in Both U.S. and European Trading

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — The dollar advanced sharply Tuesday while gold plunged more than \$8 an ounce, reflecting developments in South Africa's monetary and mining situation there, and a resurgent dollar, said Martin McNeill, vice president at Dominick & Dominick, a New York trading firm.

The dollar's rise, which began last Friday in New York, continued through Monday in European trading and Tuesday when U.S. markets re-opened.

"There was some buying of dollars over the weekend due to fears

the South African crisis would hurt European economies more than the United States," said Daniel Holland, vice president at Discount Corp. of New York.

But Mr. Holland said with U.S. credit markets closed to South Africa, the country was believed to be borrowing Swiss francs, sterling and Deutsche marks and selling them in the market for dollars in order to support the rand, increas-

ing demand for the dollar at the expense of those currencies. A 10-cent rise in the South African rand to roughly 45 U.S. cents Monday was thought to almost entirely reflect South African central bank support. However, the rand was quoted Tuesday at 41.5 cents in New York.

The British pound ended Tuesday in New York at \$1.3640, down from \$1.3895 on Friday. The U.S.

unit also climbed against the Deutsche mark, ending at 2.8600, down from 2.8160. Against the French franc, the dollar ended at 8.7375, up from 8.5875. A similar gain was made against the Swiss franc. The dollar ended at 2.3580 francs, up from 2.3140.

Earlier in European trading, the dollar received a boost from news of a rise in U.S. construction spending. Currency dealers in Europe said they had expected a small decline, and added that the rise prompted more confidence about the U.S. economy.

Traders added that the dollar was looking very stable and could be set for a considerable medium-term recovery.

In London, the pound ended at \$1.3695, down from \$1.3793 on Monday.

In Frankfurt, traders reported lively trading on growing sentiment that the U.S. economy may be showing signs of an upturn. The dollar ended against the Deutsche mark at 2.8449 DM, up from 2.8281.

(UPI, AP, Reuters)

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INVESTMENT STRATEGIES '85

By GORBATCHEV and REAGAN

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(UPI, AP, Reuters)

Floating-Rate Notes

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Chevron Seeks to Sell Some Operations

LOS ANGELES — Chevron Corp., which has been shedding assets to reduce the debt it incurred in last year's \$13.3-billion purchase of Gulf Corp., said Tuesday that it has solicited buyers for its gasoline refining and marketing operations in the Eastern United States and Puerto Rico.

It is the second major unit company this year to say it is pulling out of the Eastern United States. Four months ago, Los Angeles-based Atlantic Richfield Co. announced plans to withdraw from its east of the Mississippi operations as part of a major corporate restructuring. It has since agreed to sell those facilities.

Affected by San Francisco-based Chevron's decision are refineries in Philadelphia and Bayamon, Puerto Rico; 26 terminals; an interest in two pipelines and four heating-oil businesses; and more than 5,000

service stations in Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia and Washington, D.C.

Some of the facilities were acquired in the Gulf takeover. "We sent out the letters to those we thought would be interested," said a Chevron spokesman, Nancy Arvey. She declined to identify the potential bidders but said, "There were quite a few."

Will Price, a senior vice president for Chevron USA, the company's domestic operating unit, said a deadline of Oct. 18 was imposed on the bidding, adding that a decision is expected by the end of the year.

COMPANY NOTES

Bowater Industries PLC said Hanson Trust PLC has raised its stake in the company to 7.48 million ordinary shares, or 8 percent. The new stake represents an increase from 7 percent of the total shares outstanding a month ago.

Burson-Marsteller, a New York-based public-relations firm, said it has set up a joint commercial public-relations service with China Media Development Inc., a subsidiary of Xinhua, the official Chinese news agency.

Compañía Telefonica Nacional de España said it would seek to be listed on the Tokyo Stock Exchange by Sept. 18. It said it would place 15 million shares on the Tokyo bourse, which would put 13.5 percent of its total capital in foreign hands.

CRA Ltd., an Australian metals producer that is controlled by Rio Tinto Zinc Corp., said net income in the six months ended June 30 rose to 33.7 million Australian dollars (\$23.6 million) from 31.8 million dollars a year earlier. The results compared with a 2.3-million-dollar loss in the second half of 1984.

Exco International PLC said its first-half pretax profit rose to \$49.4 million (\$68.2 million) from \$33.2 million a year earlier. The company said in its interim report that the

"Prospective buyers are being advised to give us their best offer," Mr. Price said. "There will not be an opportunity to negotiate price after they come in with an initial bid."

He said Chevron is retaining the option to hold onto the facilities if the bids are too low. Since acquiring Gulf, Chevron has sold about \$2 billion in assets. About 2,000 Chevron workers would be affected by sale of Eastern and Puerto Rican operations.

In past divestitures, the company has negotiated continuing jobs or benefits for its workers with the buyer. In cases where layoffs are required, Chevron has provided assistance in finding jobs and severance benefits.

sale of its 52-percent stake in Telerate Inc. will produce a net profit of about \$230 million.

Francorah, a joint venture of Jeumont Schneider, ANF Industrie and De Dietrich & Compagnie, said it has won a \$200-million contract to supply 225 subway cars to the New York Metropolitan Transit Authority. The MTA has also taken an option on another 400 cars, the company said.

London & Scottish Marine Oil PLC said first-half pretax profit rose to \$74.9 million (\$103.4 million) from \$56.3 million in the 1984 first half.

Nepenthe Orient Lines said it will raise 100 million Singapore dollars (\$44.3 million) through an issue of cumulative-redeemable preference shares. It said the shares will be privately placed.

Santos Ltd., an Adelaide-based energy concern, said net income in the first half ended June 30 more than doubled from a year earlier, to 64.61 million Australian dollars from 29.46 million.

Trafalgar Housing Ltd. of Hong Kong said its lenders had agreed to extend a moratorium on 39% of the company's \$50 million (\$50 million) in debt until Sept. 1, 1986. The moratorium was first reached in 1983 and has since been extended every year for one year.

Financiers in Scotland Are Still Wary of Fads

(Continued from Page 9)

with Williams & Glynns Bank, a medium-sized English clearing bank. This will make Royal Bank the first Scottish bank with a major presence throughout Britain. And in April, despite criticism of London conglomerates, Royal Bank bought Charterhouse Japhet, a London-based merchant bank, from Charterhouse J. Rothschild group.

Royal Bank is also expanding overseas. Starting with just a 20th-floor Wall Street office 15 years ago, it has moved into Houston, San Francisco, Los Angeles and five offices in the Far East. Williams & Glynns also gives it a foothold on the Continent.

The 290-year-old Bank of Scotland has also opened new overseas offices, including one in Moscow. To widen its presence in England and Scotland without investing in new branches, however, it also has arranged to market financial services through building societies (the British equivalent of U.S. savings and loan associations) and directly to homes and businesses through computer-telephone links.

"We have a better home and office electronic banking system than anything I have seen in the United States," Mr. Gibson said.

His bank's Scottish character was enhanced this year when a neighbor, Standard Life Assurance Co., Europe's largest mutual insurer, bought for about \$210 million the 34.3-percent stake

in the bank that had long been held by England's Barclays Bank.

The ownership change raised echoes of the days when there was talk of Edinburgh as the home of a "financial mafia" in which just a few men sat on numerous boards, supposedly coordinating their businesses.

"Everyone knew each other but in the worst possible way," said Mr. Grossart of Nobel Grossart merchant bank. "There were various camps reflecting historic feuds and personalities with no cohesion or perception that the cake could be expanded outward."

Today, by contrast, Edinburgh and Scotland are embarked in the first effort in memory to market financial services as a single sector. Local studies have concluded that electronics and modern transport links have eliminated many of the advantages to financiers of operating from centers such as London and New York.

"Modern technology is playing into Edinburgh's hands," said James Gammell, who retired as chairman of the investment management firm of Ivory & Sims last month. "I think it's set for a golden age."

Of course, modern technology cuts both ways. For instance, it makes Edinburgh's traditionally solid Scottish base vulnerable to raiding from English and foreign banks. "Our distinctive qualities are under pressure," Mr. Baird, the Royal Bank economist, conceded.

Italy's Telephone Monopoly to Sell Shares to Public

Reuters

MILAN — SIP SpA, Italy's state-owned telephone company, will sell nearly one-third of its shares to the public in an offering aimed at raising as much as 900 billion lire (\$473.4 million), officials confirmed Tuesday.

An official at STET, the state holding company that controls 82.55 percent of the telephone company's stock, confirmed press reports that a placement of about 30 percent of SIP shares was imminent. He declined to elaborate.

An official at SIP said the planned operation had been partly inspired by the highly successful flotation last year of half the share capital of British Telecom PLC.

If successful, the placement would boost the proportion of private capital in SIP to more than 40 percent. Private investors already hold 10.85 percent of the company's equity while Pirelli SpA holds another 3.04 percent.

Holiday Stress For Managers

(Continued from Page 9)

flung together for a period of time, we receive many more calls," says the council's research director.

Information at Consell, the company counseling service for executives at Control Data SA, the French subsidiary of the U.S. concern, also gets more calls after vacation than throughout the rest of the year. Compared to an average of 40 to 50 calls a month throughout the year, calls average 150 calls a month after the summer break.

But Guy Berthelot, the director of the service, does not attribute the large majority of the calls to vacation-induced stress or re-entry shock. "I believe it's a willingness to take charge of your life again. Ninety percent of the calls I get are for practical problems."

BUSINESS PEOPLE

Amro Makes New Layer Of Senior Management

By Brenda Erdmann

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank NV has created a new layer of management that will be in charge of the bank's day-to-day operations.

The bank said that from Jan. 1, it will create the top management post of senior executive vice president and that six of its current general managers will be promoted to hold the new title. They are A. Deknatel, G. Dirks, R. Groenink, Z. van Hovell tot Westerland, W. van der Schoot and R. van Tiel.

An Amro spokesman said the move would allow the bank's board of managing directors, which currently oversees the bank's daily operations, to have more time for policy-making and other activities.

As a result of the creation of the new layer of management, the 10-man board of managing directors will be reduced in size. Stepping down from the board when they reach statutory retirement age will be C. van Westreenen, R. Kool, and G. van der Kloet.

Esochem Europe Inc., Brussels, has appointed Rodney L. Grandy Jr. as president from Oct. 1, succeeding David R. Clair. Mr. Clair is expected to become president of Exxon Research & Engineering Co. Mr. Grandy moves to Brussels from the Darien, Connecticut, head office of the parent, Exxon Chemical Co., where he is senior vice president. Exxon Research is, in turn, a unit of Exxon Corp.

Salomon Brothers International, a London-based unit of Salomon Brothers Inc., has recruited Stephen Brisby as a vice president charged with expanding the firm's investment-banking business in Britain. Mr. Brisby was formerly a director of the British merchant bank of J. Henry Schroder Wagg & Co.

Scandinavian Bank Ltd. has named Antoine F. Khayat to the new post of regional head for Europe, the Middle East and Africa, based in the bank's London head office. Christopher C. Hart succeeds Mr. Khayat as general manager of the Middle East branch in Bahrain.

Mr. Hart, who formerly was with Bank of America in Bahrain, joined Scandinavian Bank in April as general manager designate of the Bahrain office.

Procter & Gamble Co., the Cincinnati-based household- and personal-products concern, has named Claude Meyer as division manager, international, for southern Europe. Mr. Meyer, who will continue to be based in Paris, succeeds Malcolm Jozoff, who returned to the head office. Succeeding Mr. Meyer as general manager of Procter & Gamble France is Herbert Schmitz, who moves to Paris from Geneva, where he was general manager, special operations, for Procter & Gamble AG.

Banco di Roma SpA, Italy's fifth largest bank, has upgraded its representative office in Madrid to a branch and named Carmelo Pettinato branch manager. He also oversees the bank's operations in Spain.

ANZ Is to Open Bangkok Office

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Ltd. said its subsidiary, Grindlays Bank PLC of London, has received permission to open a representative office in Bangkok.

The office, which is scheduled to open later this year, will be headed by Brian Human, currently regional coordinator for Grindlays in Hong Kong. The move follows that of Hill Samuel & Co., the London-based merchant bank, which announced in early August that it had received permission to open a representative office in Bangkok.

Paul Rizzo, general manager, international, of ANZ, said Thailand was previously one of the few countries with significant ties with Australia where the bank was not represented.

Company Results

Revenue and profits or losses, in millions, are in local currencies unless otherwise indicated.

Australia		Malaysia		United States	
CRA	1985 1984	Sime Darby	1985 1984	Brown Group	1985 1984
1st Half	1985 1984	1st Half	1985 1984	1st Half	1985 1984
Revenue	23.7 21.3	Revenue	240.2 241.3	Revenue	18.4 18.4
Profit	3.1 3.1	Profit	10.2 10.2	Profit	0.5 0.4

South Africa		Anglo Amer. Gold		Socoll	
1st Half	1985 1984	1st Half	1985 1984	1st Half	1985 1984
Revenue	242.9 102.2	Revenue	149.2 109.2	Revenue	1.7 1.7
Profit	24.1 24.6	Profit	10.2 10.2	Profit	0.5 0.5

Tuesday's OTC Prices

NASDAQ prices as of 3 p.m. New York time. Via The Associated Press

12 Month High Low Stock Div. Yld. 1985 High Low 3 P.M. CHG

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SPORTS

World Cup Dips Into Fresh Waters in Gulf

International Herald Tribune
LONDON — Approaching the summit of their nation's soccer history, the players know what must be done.

An outsider might easily misinterpret the scene in their dressing room. Naked from the waist up, they are all kneeling in prayer, using their international white shirts as prayer mats.

At such a moment their manager, a foreigner with foreign ways, is the motivational factor, slipping out of his hands. That moment will

ROB HUGHES

come on Thursday, when Bahrain joins its effort to win a place in the 1986 World Cup finals.

Syria, the opponent, may be quaking in its boots; Keith Burkinshaw, the Englishman who manages Bahrain Football Association affairs, may suspect his presence in the dressing room is somewhat intrusive.

Strange times for a man who has coached Newcastle United and Tottenham Hotspur to English and European Cup finals five times. His final pregame words back then would be no problem: "Get stuck in. Attack the bugger — and try to do it with a bit of style."

In Bahrain on Thursday (and in Damascus on Sept. 20 for the return leg), the message might prove a little harder to get across.

Burkinshaw, growing accustomed to his players' ways, now knows that he has to pick his moments. Getting the men to face him and not Mecca is a matter of timing.

Getting them to the field on time needs calculation and understanding. "They're Muslims who pray five times a day," he explains, "so training and matches have to be fitted around prayers. During Ramadan, matches were kicking off at two in the morning."

From the start, Burkinshaw knew that a blunt, determined Englishman would have to adapt if he was to help the Bahraini catch up with the rest of the world. "When I arrived, they all looked the same," he admits. "Now I've sorted out the Abdullahs from the Mustaphas."

The starting process, and its rich rewards, were not without acrimony. Bahraini soccer players are amateurs who place Allah, family ritual and their jobs as students, coastguards and customs officials before the pursuit of a round leather windfall.

The manager had to accept that players, if they trained up for national squad training at all, might arrive on bloated stomachs after a family meal.

He had to tweak players away from evening club training, and he frustrated the small Bahraini soccer fraternity (all of 750 adult participants) by axing the national captain and goalie, Hamoud Sultan, for failing to attend the first four training sessions.

World Cup matches were then a full year off, and anyway, what chance had Bahrain, with a population of 350,000, of becoming one of two qualifiers from 35 Asian countries? "Logically, it's not on," Burkinshaw told them. "But we have to think and believe and work hard for it."

The manager (or "captain," as Bahraini players insist on calling him) was prepared to set the example. With Robin Stepany, a reserve trainer from Tottenham, and George McAllister, a physiotherapist, Burkinshaw began from scratch to form youth, junior and senior squads.

He drew up a plan for a proper structure of 16 games a season. He persuaded the Bahrain FA to switch from artificial to grass pitches. He sought to change the "negative-minded" approach. He and McAllister worked like nannies to clear up what he called "the worst injury situation I have ever seen."

Bahrain gave him a budget of \$1 million (\$1.38 million) — channeled in the Gulf, where the Saudis, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and even Qatar shell billions into the sport. Bahrain's annual budget, for example, is equal to the sum Kuwait lavishes on each club.

But Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar are already out of the World Cup.

The UAE is likely to be Bahrain's final qualifying opponent if it eliminates Syria.

That contest is one of a newly irresistible force against the obdurate object, for while Bahrain, somewhat in the manner of Burkinshaw's Tottenham, is hell-bent on scoring goals, Syria's tactic appears to be stopping them.

That is admittedly from afar speculation, based on Bahrain's 7-4 home-and-away triumph over South Yemen and Syria's 1-0 squeezing out of Kuwait after two legs.

The Syrians, cloaked round-the-clock in camp, can justifiably claim theirs was the tougher route. Kuwait, benefitting from years of Brazilian and British expertise, had been at the 1982 World Cup finals.

Luck of the draw also assisted Bahrain when Iran, an earlier opponent, forfeited rather than accept FIFA's dictate to play home matches outside its war zone.

Speaking of war, Burkinshaw's last foreign adventure came eight years ago, when he brought Argentina's Osvaldo Ardiles and Ricky Villa to Tottenham — and he stuck with them despite the Falklands War.

Soccer, to Burkinshaw, is some-

thing divorced from war and politics.

Language problems aside, there is a world of difference between integrating world-class Argentinians into a British setting and molding an Arabic cup challenge. Neither Ardiles nor Villa, in their distinctive ways, needed to be told to get "stuck in." Bahrainis are different.

"They are shy," observes the manager, "and don't like calling for the ball. They don't believe in tackling either, but stand back and watch the other lot play."

Halfway through Burkinshaw's two-year, £250,000 tax-free mission in the Gulf, there are signs that his law is filtering through. Not quite, perhaps, in the way he intends: Four players wound up hospitalized after one match, and three national squad players were banned for five matches for fighting.

Burkinshaw, honest as the day is long, is pricking the egos of arrogant stars; a bit too straightforward for some English directors, he has four matches to get the balance right and surprise himself, as well as the Bahrainis, by helping them toward soccer's Mecca.

It means prompting men to transcend themselves. And once the players cross the line onto the pitch, assistance has to come from elsewhere.

Who knows? The major framework of Muslim life, which poses so many obstacles to the outsider's organization, might be the guiding light.

If Bahrain beats Syria (at population odds of 32 to 1), Burkinshaw might be among the converted.

After all, Dave Mackay, once a rousing Tottenham wingback, has eight years' experience of soccer in the desert. The coach of Kuwait is convinced that "Islamic religion provides the lads with a peace of mind which can significantly enhance their onfield performance."

Since Syrians are also among the faithful, it should prove quite a match.

Hernandez Leads Mets in Rout

SAN DIEGO — After a half-day off, Keith Hernandez is back in form, and it's no coincidence that the New York Mets are too.

"When your No. 3 hitter hits, you usually win. When he doesn't, it's tough to win," said Met Manager Dave Johnson after Hernandez hit and New York won, 12-4, over the San Diego Padres here Monday. Hernandez was 5-for-5 with a home run.

BASEBALL ROUNDUP

Two-run home run, Ray Knight hit a three-run homer and had four runs batted in and Darryl Strawberry had three RBIs.

The Mets now trail St. Louis by a game in the National League's Eastern Division, the Cardinals having lost to Cincinnati Monday night.

Hernandez had driven in only two runs in 19 games until Sunday's contest in San Francisco. He began that one on the bench but pinch-hit a game-winning home run in the ninth inning and hasn't made an out since.

"The break helped me more mentally than physically," Hernandez said. "It's a long year. I've got to believe the off-day helped me. It clears your head. When you hit the ball like you know you should, you get that feeling back and it all falls into place."

Winner Sid Fernandez gave up only five hits in his first complete game this season, walking four batters and striking out six. He has struck out 145 batters in 130 innings this year.

San Diego's Jerry Royster, who went 0-for-3, was impressed by Fernandez. "He threw fastballs up and got guys to miss and pop them out."

Bahrain gave him a budget of \$1 million (\$1.38 million) — channeled in the Gulf, where the Saudis, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and even Qatar shell billions into the sport. Bahrain's annual budget, for example, is equal to the sum Kuwait lavishes on each club.

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Soccer, to Burkinshaw, is some-



Boris Becker, 17: Playing in anguish, fighting back tears.

Nystrom Surprises Becker

By John Feinstein
Washington Post Service

NEW YORK — There will be a time for Boris Becker and John McEnroe, but it won't be at the 1985 U.S. Open tennis championships.

The dream match dissolved Monday night when Joakim Nystrom, who twice served for the match against Becker at Wimbledon only to lose in five sets, knocked the West German out of the open, 6-3, 6-3, 4-6, 6-4.

In Tuesday's early play, Yannick Noah, the No. 7 seed, moved into the men's quarterfinals and Hana Mandlikova, seeded third, gained the women's semifinals.

Noah defeated Jay Berger, a wild-card amateur, 6-7, 6-2, 6-3, 6-1. Mandlikova, a runner-up here in 1980 and 1982, downed No. 7 Helena Sukova, 7-6 (7-5).

Nystrom's stunning, three-hour victory could hardly have been more dramatic. In the final two games, he had six match points. In the last game, the eighth-seeded Becker had Nystrom, 0-40 — with three chances to even the set. But he couldn't convert.

Finally, on his sixth chance, Nystrom did. The No. 10 seed hit a topspin forehand that landed on the baseline.

Becker thought the ball was going out and didn't play it. When it hit the line, Becker, who had been fighting back tears for much of the fourth set, dropped his racket in anguish.

The usually placid Nystrom leaped in the air and shook his fist. "At Wimbledon, I played the best grass-court match of my life and he still beat me," Nystrom said. "Because of that, this really feels great. I think Boris felt the pressure. It was very difficult for him."

Becker, who had floundered around the court dropping his racket and acting like a 17-year-old for much of the match, was a truly gracious loser.

"You have to say well done to Joakim," said the Wimbledon champion. "He played good tennis. For the first two sets, I wasn't even on

the court. The last two sets I played much better, but it was not good enough."

Nystrom advanced to a Wednesday quarterfinal match against the top-seeded McEnroe, who defeated Tomas Smid, 6-3, 7-5, 6-2, in a match notable only because McEnroe was as tempestuous as he has been all year.

Monday's other men's winners were Swedes Anders Jarryd and Mats Wilander. The sixth-seeded Jarryd saved three set points in the

about. If I play my best, I don't expect to lose." The next-match reference was to Becker.

But Becker, clearly nervous at the start, knew it would be tough: Nystrom, 22, returns serve about as well as anyone in the game.

Nystrom broke Becker in the match's second game and served out to win the set. The second set was similar to the first, but this time Nystrom's break came late. With Becker serving at 4-5, Nystrom slammed a backhand winner to get to set point. Becker then watched helplessly as yet another hard two-hander flew past him.

Becker lost his first serve of the third set, and it seemed Nystrom would end the match quickly. But Becker immediately broke back — at love — and slowly climbed back.

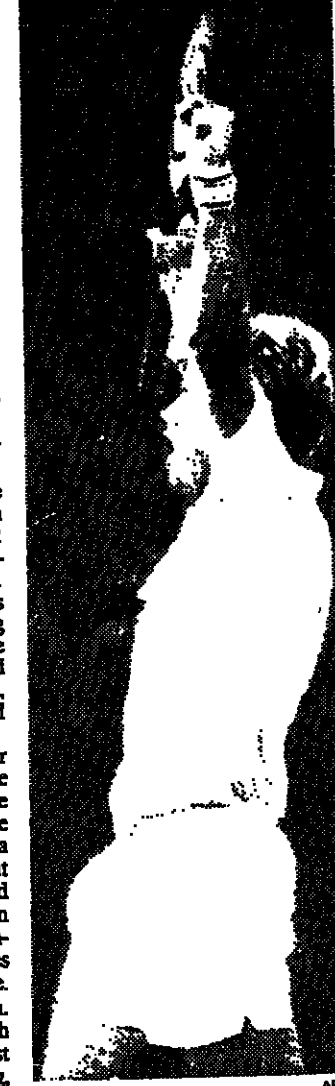
Becker broke again in the set's 10th game, when Nystrom, leading 40-15, made two errors for deuce and Becker snapped a backhand volley for set point. On set point, Becker came in behind a backhand and Nystrom netted a backhand.

Opening the fourth set, Becker again lost his serve, and this time he never caught up. There were chances. After Becker saved three more break points at 0-2, he had a break point in the third game. But he netted a backhand return and Nystrom served out. Becker began walking in circles, talking to himself. He pushed tears from his eyes as he began serving the next game.

Yet even crying, Becker hung in. Serving at 3-5, he faced four match points. He saved all four, the last one with an extraordinary diving, backhand volley that Nystrom couldn't run down.

When he came up with two service winners to take the game, the crowd was screaming in amazement. Moments later, when Becker reached 0-40, the din was almost deafening. But Nystrom got to deuce and had match point when Becker (whose knees were bloody when he left the court) dived for a forehand and got it back, but couldn't scramble to his feet in time to run down Nystrom's volley.

So it was match point No. 5; this



Joakim Nystrom
 ... This really feels great.

time Becker slapped a reaching backhand volley for a winner. Nystrom shook his head.

Nystrom got a sixth match point with a backhand volley that hit the net and rolled in for a winner. Then he hit the forehand to the baseline; Becker stared and the crowd groaned for a second before rising to applaud the efforts of both men.

SCOREBOARD

Tennis

U.S. Open Results

MEN
 Singles, Fourth Round
 Anders Jarryd (6), Sweden, def. Tim Mayotte (13), U.S., 7-6 (7-5), 7-6 (7-5), 6-3, 6-1.
 Joakim Nystrom (10), Sweden, def. Boris Becker (8), West Germany, 6-3, 6-3, 4-6, 6-4.
 Mats Wilander (11), Sweden, def. Greg Hodel (10), U.S., 6-4, 4-6, 6-4, 6-4.
 Yannick Noah (7), France, def. Jay Berger, U.S., 6-7, 6-2, 6-3, 6-1.

WOMEN
 Singles, Quarterfinals
 Hana Mandlikova (3), Czechoslovakia, def. Michael Mortensen, Denmark, and Hana St. Mortensen, Sweden, 6-4, 7-6, 6-2.
 Pam Shriver (4), U.S., def. Alycia Mayotte, U.S., 6-2, 6-1.
 Hana Mandlikova (3), Czechoslovakia, def. Kathy Jordan, U.S., 7-6, 3-6, 6-1.
 Zina Garrison (6), U.S., def. Kate Cornwell, U.S., 6-3, 6-2.

FOOTBALL
 National Football League
 Atlanta — Walter Duce, quarterback, def. Miami Dolphins, 24-14.
 Dallas — Walter Duce, quarterback, def. Houston Oilers, 24-14.
 Pittsburgh — Walter Duce, quarterback, def. Cleveland Browns, 24-14.
 San Francisco — Walter Duce, quarterback, def. Los Angeles Rams, 24-14.

BASEBALL
 Los Angeles — Steve Garvey, shortstop, def. San Diego Padres, 12-4.
 New York — Keith Hernandez, first baseman, def. San Diego Padres, 12-4.
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Transition

Baseball

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AMERICAN LEAGUE

Cleveland 100 100 100-2 10 8
 Toronto 100 100 100-2 10 8
 Detroit 100 100 100-2 10 8
 Baltimore 100 100 100-2 10 8
 Milwaukee 100 100 100-2 10 8
 Kansas City 100 100 100-2 10 8
 Seattle 100 100 100-2 10 8
 Oakland 100 100 100-2 10 8
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 Texas 100 100 100-2 10 8
 Houston 100 100 100-2 10 8
 Minnesota 100 100 100-2 10 8
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